

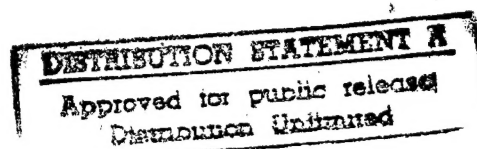
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7 JULY 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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7 JULY 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

COMMENTS OF HUAN XIANG ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, SDI

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE in French Spring 86 pp 187-193

[Interview with Huan Xiang, Director, International Questions Research Center, State Affairs Council, People's Republic of China, by Claude Cadart, Director of Research, National Scientific Research Center: "Peiping and the Three Worlds"]

[Text] Mr Huan Xiang is director of the International Questions Research Center, State Affairs Council, People's Republic of China; vice chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Permanent Committee, National People's Assembly; first PRC ambassador to the European Economic Community; former vice president, Academy of Social Sciences of China. Huan Xiang's thoughts and writings exert considerable influence on the development of Chinese foreign policy but, in a modernistic sense, they also carry weight regarding the course of the country's domestic affairs.

Claude Cadart: In 1984, you emphasized publicly and emphatically that China is by no means whatsoever pursuing a policy of "equidistance" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Why do you reject this term with such vehemence?

Huan Xiang: China's foreign policy is a policy of independence and not of equidistance between the United States and the USSR; to be absolutely sure of that even more so today than yesterday, it suffices to look at what it has been in practice since 1984. China has its own criteria of justice and injustice in matters of international affairs, its own viewpoints concerning their winding ways, and it determines the conduct of that policy only as a function of these viewpoints. It never did and it never will turn the American attitude or the Soviet attitude on a given international issue into a criterion that determines its own attitude. It refuses, a fortiori, to engage in this balancing act which consists in attacking the USSR tomorrow because it attacked the United States today and vice versa. Chinese diplomacy, which has a high sense of respect for principles, will never fall in line with the equilibrium seekers on the international scene.

Claude Cadart: Certain observers in France see in Mikhail Gorbachev a "Russian-style Deng Xiaoping" who could be guided by China's current experience over these past 5 years in order to "remodel" the Soviet social-economic system. Does their analysis appear correct to you?

Huan Xiang: It is domestic needs that lead to economic reforms, not external influencing factors. In this respect, the USSR is no exception to the rule. Mr Gorbachev has stated on many occasions, since he took over as secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party, that his country must embark on the road of reforms in order to speed up its economic, scientific, and technical development. The Soviet Union as a matter of fact has pressing reasons for making sure that its economic system will develop but these reasons are peculiar to the Soviet Union; and the difficult problems raised by these changes are also assuredly Soviet problems.

Claude Cadart: According to certain sources, the Soviet Union supposedly proposed to China the restoration of the Grand Sino-Soviet Alliance of the 1950's. Would China be prepared to accept this offer if Moscow were to agree to give it satisfaction on the three main points of friction between the two countries: Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the persistent stationing of an excessive number of Soviet troops at the Chinese-Soviet borders?

Huan Xiang: If the USSR were to take measures liable to put an end to these three undertakings, which threaten our security and constitute an obstacle to Chinese-Soviet rapprochement, then the relations which we have with Moscow certainly would have the best chance of being normalized and even improving. Unfortunately, one can hardly detect any signs of a sincere Soviet desire to remove the three obstacles in question. Moreover, if there were to be a normalization, our relations could never again be what they were during the 1950's. There are two reasons for that: First of all, the times are not the same and the international situation has changed; second, as we reviewed the experience of 30 years of diplomatic relations--and the lessons they taught us--we find that the thing that is most profitable, for our independence and for the defense of peace and stability in the world, is not to go into any alliances with any superpower.

Claude Cadart: Following the re-election of Ronald Reagan and the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, did the force relationship change between the Big Two?

Huan Xiang: American-Soviet relations entered a new phase a short time ago, a phase of confrontation and dialogue. The USSR and the United States recently organized their first summit meeting since 1979 and the atmosphere indeed has become somewhat relaxed. But the arms race (including space weapons) launched by these two countries and the struggle they are fighting against each other to grab one or the other part of the planet do not look as if they would stop for a long time to come. And the military power balance, which has been reached now, does not look as if it would be upset any time soon either.

Claude Cadart: Do you think that, in the world of today, the power of a State is essentially tied to its economic and technical development level rather than to the size of its military potential?

Huan Xiang: A country's economic and technological development, it seems to me, has always been the foundation of its military power. Economic power is a

globalizing power; it is therefore this power which we must above all measure in order to evaluate a country's real strength. Today, technological and economic development furthermore assumes a military significance that is all the more important because our epoch is the epoch of the galloping explosion of a new technological revolution.

Claude Cadart: In your view, does the Strategic Defense Initiative launched by President Reagan above all have a military purpose (against the Soviet Union) or rather an economic purpose (against "allies" such as Japan, West Germany, or France who as a matter of fact are competitors)?

Huan Xiang: In my opinion, the American SDI is designed to give the United States absolute supremacy over the other countries in all fields: Military, technical, economic. It is not aimed only at the USSR; it is also laden with consequences as regards the other developed countries in the West.

Claude Cadart: Do you believe that the United States would ever tolerate the existence of a really strong China?

Huan Xiang: It is certainly up to the United States to answer that question. But what is certain, in any case, is that the greatness and strength of China can come only from an extremely arduous struggle conducted by the Chinese people itself. It is the forces of peace, currently at work in the world, which will vend profit from this new force.

Claude Cadart: Let us now, if you will, look at your neighbor Japan. Some people think that the United States is making a big mistake by pushing that country toward rearmament since it has already been successful in, economically speaking, restoring its entirely too famous "coprosperity sphere" in Asia. Do you share that viewpoint?

Huan Xiang: It is true that the United States has asked Tokyo to increase its military expenditures and to participate in the defense of the Pacific. Personally, I think that Japan can easily have a strong self-defense corps. But that country also contains people who want to restore militarism and establish a Japanese sphere of influence in Asia. These ambitions are bound to awaken general concern and to trigger strong protests in the neighboring countries. Besides, the Americans themselves should feel not at all reassured on that score because they remain profoundly marked by the bitter memory of Pearl Harbor.

Claude Cadart: Everybody understands that Japan must export to survive. What we understand less well, on the other hand, is that it is making a constant effort to grab a dominant position on the world market and that it is in reality conducting a real economic war against the other developed countries. Is China aware of this situation?

Huan Xiang: I recently met various personalities from Southeast Asia who feel that the "economic war" between Japan and the United States and the other developed countries is also a threat to them. They use a rather picturesque expression to depict that risk: They say that "the fight between elephants

leads to the wrecking of the meadow." In other words, the intensification of the trade war between the developed countries is above all a disaster for the developing countries. I believe that the worry of these personalities from Southeast Asia is well founded.

Claude Cadart: At this very moment, Japan seems to be hesitating between several lines of conduct in the relations which it maintains with its neighbors (the countries of East Asia, the Soviet Union, and the United States). Could you give us your viewpoint on this question?

Huan Xiang: Judging by their recent declarations, Japanese leaders are still making their preferred relations with the United States into the cornerstone of their foreign policy. Japan, on the other hand, is trying very hard to develop its relations with the countries of Asia with a view to creating its own economic influence zone; in an effort better to guarantee its security, it seeks at the same time to make sure that relations with the USSR will become more relaxed. But, I repeat, in spite of particularly strong friction, which keeps growing in the economic area, between Tokyo and Washington, good relations with North America remain the foundation of Japanese diplomacy.

Claude Cadart: Let us now go on to Western Europe. Can one draw a parallel between the respective positions of China and Europe with respect to the superpowers?

Huan Xiang: Certainly. There is great similarity in their options. As in the case of China, the countries of Western Europe desire to implement a policy of independence. In this sense, they also constitute a force for preserving world peace and preventing war.

Claude Cadart: China has unequivocally come out in favor of a strong and independent Western Europe. Do you not think that this posture springs essentially from wishful thinking in view of the long road that remains to be travelled in order to achieve Europe's political and economic unity?

Huan Xiang: The unity of Western Europe is a tremendously difficult task which calls for the prior solution of problems that are so complex that one cannot expect any quick results. It is making slow progress, in spite of everything, due to the effect of the constraints of the world situation. The enlargement of the European Community, the reactivation of the Western European Union, and the launching of the Eureka [European Research Coordination Agency] Project constitute the most recent evidence of this. China itself favors the emergence of an independent, strong, and united Western Europe because this evolution would help peace and stability in all of Europe and therefore throughout the entire world.

Claude Cadart: Is it proper to compare French-German relations and Chinese-Japanese relations?

Huan Xiang: There are analogies since, in both cases, we are dealing with neighboring countries that clashed in the past but that today need to treat each other in a peaceful and friendly fashion. However, French-German relations and Chinese-Japanese relations have their own specific aspects. They therefore do not lend themselves to a mechanical comparison.

Claude Cadart: Since 1964, China has always been stressing the "privileged" character of relations it maintains with France. There are nevertheless many French who think that, in point of fact, there is a gap between words and deeds, especially in the economic field. Here is an example: France is undoubtedly the developed country that did most in the area of technology transfer to China; but it does not seem that your country is aware of that to the point where it would manifest tangible appreciation toward France. How do you explain this attitude?

Huan Xiang: China has always paid special attention to the development of friendly relations with France and with other countries of Western Europe. Its leaders have already expressed the desire to expand economic, commercial, technical, and scientific exchange with France and to give priority to the purchase of French products, assuming equal quality and prices. Nevertheless, French-Chinese cooperation relations have so far been very insufficient. They therefore contain a great potential that must be exploited. We should make a greater effort in this direction. But, as we say, business is business. France, for its part, must boost its competitive capacity.

Claude Cadart: Looking at the superpowers, at Japan, Europe, China always considered itself to be a country of the Third World. But it was never really colonized and it is now a nuclear and space power.

Huan Xiang: Throughout its history, China has been the target of all kinds of aggression and humiliation on the part of many colonialist and imperialist countries which reduced China to the status of a semi-colony. Its experience is thus identical to that of other countries of the Third World. Besides, after regaining its independence, China had to tackle the extremely tough task of developing its economy. And, although it is true that it can point to successes since its liberation, those successes are far from enough: The country's development level is still very low; its national per-capita income is less than that of many developing countries. For all of these reasons, China feels that strengthening its relations with the countries of the Third World is the basis of its foreign policy. It remains firmly in the camp of the Third World. If, some day, it were to become a developed country, it would still be a part of the Third World.

Claude Cadart: Is the theory of the Three Worlds still accepted in China?

Huan Xiang: Yes. The two superpowers; Western Europe, Japan, and the other developed countries; the countries of the Third World: These, in my opinion, are the three forces we are looking at.

Claude Cadart: Still, some people think for argue, in Moscow and in Washington, in particular, that the present-day world order is more bipolar, more "East-West" than ever before. I myself feel that it tends to become multipolar but that it is quadripolar for the moment (North America, the USSR, Europe, the Far East). Do you think that this viewpoint is correct?

Huan Xiang: Moscow and Washington are working very hard, and that is true of both of them, to maintain and strengthen the bipolar system. Multipolarization

nevertheless remains an irreversible historical trend. Attacked on all sides, the bipolar system is severely put to the test; and the aptitude of the two superpowers to control the affairs of the world and to exercise their influence over them keeps decreasing. This struggle between bipolarism and multipolarism is one of the characteristic features of the international situation's current evolution.

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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

STATUS OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD AFFAIRS] in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 86 pp 3-4

[Article by Lin Gen [2651 2704]: "The Door to the Peace Talks Has Not Yet Been Shut Closed"]

[Text] On 19 February 1986, Jordan's King Husayn announced that his government had decided to terminate its dialogue and political coordination with the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) over matters concerning peace in the Middle East. This means that the Jordanian-PLO agreement signed last year is now deadlocked, and the alliance between Jordan and the PLO on Middle East affairs has been temporarily discontinued. This significant change in relations between Jordan and the PLO has caused the Middle East peace process to suffer yet another setback.

In the beginning of March, the PLO Executive Committee and the Fatah Central Committee met in Tunisia to address these issues. A communique from the meeting blamed the United States for disrupting relations between Jordan and the PLO, and reiterated the PLO's steadfast refusal to accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which disregard the Palestinian people's right of self-determination.

World opinion maintains that the serious differences between all parties concerned over how to treat Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 --differences which have intensified over the past year or more--led to this tragic turn of events in relations between Jordan and the PLO.

Resolutions 242 and 338 were passed by the UN Security Council following the two Middle East wars of 1967 and 1973. Both resolutions address Arab-Israeli issues. The PLO maintains that both resolutions treat the Palestinian problem as a "refugee problem," and thus fail to address the lawful rights of the Palestinian people. The PLO finds this unacceptable. The PLO has emphasized that if the Palestinian people's right of self-determination is not explicitly guaranteed, then the position and role of the PLO in Middle East affairs will also deteriorate. Therefore, on 15 February of this year, Yasir 'Arafat proposed the following three conditions as a solution to the matter of the PLO's acceptance of Resolution 242: 1. The linkage of Resolution 242 to the issue of the Palestinian people's right of self-determination; 2. A statement issued by the United States guaranteeing the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, to include the right of self-determination and the right to establish an independent nation on their own land; 3. The PLO's acceptance of Resolution 242 along with a resolution calling on the UN to protect the lawful rights of



the Palestinian people, with all other parties concerned also accepting these resolutions.

Following the conclusion of the Jordanian-PLO agreement last year, Jordan hoped that a combined Jordanian-PLO representative group could enter into direct negotiations with the United States at the earliest possible date and hold an international conference on the issue of Middle East peace shortly thereafter. Jordan proposed that the PLO make a concession in the matter concerning recognition of the above two resolutions, thereby gaining for it the privilege of being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the international conference concerned. As to the issue of the Palestinian people's right of self-determination, Jordan regarded this as a matter to be resolved within the limits of the Jordanian-PLO coalition, and felt it could wait until the Arab lands occupied by Israel since 1967 were recovered. During the later part of this January, PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat once again traveled to Amman for talks with King Husayn. Husayn again urged the PLO to first accept Resolutions Nos 242 and 338, and deliberate over a solution to the problem of the Palestinian people's right of self-determination afterwards at the international conference concerned.

Since last September, Jordan and Syria have arrived at a reconciliation. According to foreign news media commentaries, their number one goal in doing so was to apply pressure on 'Arafat, hoping that he would concede somewhat. During January and February of this year, 'Arafat and King Husayn held five successive rounds of discussions; however, 'Arafat refused to make any concessions on this issue and the talks were unable to bring results. Jordan feels that when the Jordanian-PLO agreement was signed last year, the PLO leadership indicated a willingness to accept certain principles contained in Resolution 242; but now the PLO is concerned with "ruling rather than recovering said territory." King Husayn condemned the PLO for "losing its credibility," and stated "there are no grounds for continued coordination and cooperation with them in political affairs."

In Middle East affairs, the United States is antagonistic toward the PLO and refuses to recognize the Palestinian people's right of self-determination. The posture and conduct of the United States are believed to be the fundamental cause of the current deterioration in relations between Jordan and PLO. The United States claims that Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 are the "Legal Foundation" for the Middle East peace talks, and if the PLO wishes to participate in the Middle East peace process, it must first recognize these two resolutions, recognize the state of Israel, and terminate all military actions. The conditions and proposals proffered by the United States to the PLO cannot be seriously considered, for they not only attempt to omit the PLO from the Middle East peace talks, but also repeatedly pressure Jordan to abandon the PLO. In January of this year, while King Husayn and Israeli Prime Minister Peres were visiting Western Europe, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Murphy shuttled between the two individuals. It is believed that in this capacity he acted as an "indirect contact" between Jordan and Israel.

Under the unprincipled protection of the United States and confident in its strong backing, Israel strikes out at the PLO, has bombed PLO headquarters, and yet vilifies the PLO as the "Center of Terrorism" in the Middle East. Israel takes pleasure in the unfortunate change to Jordanian-PLO relations.

The change to Jordanian-PLO relations also reflects the intense Soviet-U.S. rivalry unfolding in the Middle East that revolves around the peace talks issue. Vis-a-vis the United States, the Soviet Union is attempting to control the Middle East peace talks single-handedly, and is still not satisfied with this. The Soviet Union tries hard to gain a hand in everything, and conducts multilateral activities toward this aim.

The Arab nations have all along held diverging views of the Jordanian-PLO agreement, and differences persist within the PLO leadership itself. This also has caused the concerted actions of Jordan and the PLO to suffer a handicap.

Relations between Jordan and the PLO have now taken an unexpected turn, and the Middle East peace talks have reached an impasse as a result. However, at present, the possibility of some flexibility remaining cannot be entirely ruled out. King Husayn has indicated that the principles and contents of the Jordanian-PLO agreement remain as the basis for guiding relations between Jordan and the Palestinian people; 'Arafat has also indicated that the PLO will continue to honor the Jordanian-PLO agreement, and is prepared to resume a dialogue with Jordan. In a recent meeting with the leaders of the PLO, Egypt's President Mubarak stated that his country will work to bridge the differences between Jordan and the PLO. So it appears that the door of the Middle East peace talks has not yet been shut closed. However, if the United States and Israel continue to cling to their obstinate position of disregard for the Palestinian people, it will be extremely difficult to achieve a breakthrough in the Middle East peace talks.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RULE OF LAW' UNDER 'DICTATORSHIP' DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHIUSHIH NIENTAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 192, 1 Jan 86 pp 16-19

[Article by Ting Yichou [002 004 0010]: "'Rule by Law' Is But Empty Talk in China"]

[Excerpts] In recent years, Red China has been engaging in a large-scale propaganda campaign on the "rule by law." It not only boasts about the importance attached by its top leadership to the rule of law and the serious attitude with which the Ministry of Public Security (MPS), the General Procuratorate (GP), and the People's Court (PC) are enforcing the law. More recently, it has laid particular emphasis on educating the cadres and the masses about the rule of law and has brought out a newly-coined slogan: get rid of the illiterate in law! It sounds as if China now has all the prerequisites for the rule of law and it remains only to educate the cadres (the rank-and-file cadres, of course) and the masses about the rule of law.

I. Laws Are Formulated by MPS, GP, and PC

During the 27 years when Mao Zedong ruled mainland China, there existed few legal instruments besides the national constitution and the marriage law. And the national constitution, from the day of its promulgation, had been trampled underfoot by him and was never implemented. In August 1979, after the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, for the first time two codes were promulgated: the criminal code and the code on criminal proceedings. For a country where laws had never existed, this could only be seen as a good thing. But who formulated these two codes?

The laws of any democratic country have to be formulated by a legislative assembly, a legislative committee, or a similar legislative body and then submitted to a congress or parliament for ratification or adoption. There is, indeed, a "Legal Committee" within the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. To foreigners, it is the legislative organ of China and it is this organ which formulates Chinese laws. In reality, this is not the case at all. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of China knows that the highest organ of state power in China is the CPC Central Committee rather than the National People's Congress. As to the subsidiary organs of these two entities, the subsidiary organs of the CPC Central Committee have far greater power. For this reason, the legislative power is vested not in the "Legal Committee" of the National People's Congress but in the "Political

and Legal Commission" of the CPC Central Committee. When the above-mentioned codes were formulated in 1979, the Political and Legal Commission of the CPC Central Committee was headed by Peng Zhen, a fact which makes it clear that this "commission" enjoys enormous power and is not to be compared with the "Legal Committee" of the NPC. This situation is a fact long known to the present writer. But Peng Zhen did not personally formulate laws. He was only the nominal head. The real lawmakers were the four deputy directors, this is, Zhao Cangbi [6392 5547 1084], Huang Huoging [7806 3499 7230], Jiang Hua [3068 5478], and one Liu Fuzhi [0491 1788 0037], and this is a little known fact.

Zhao, Huang, and Jiang were top-ranking officials of the MPS, the GP, and the People's Supreme Court, respectively. Liu, a former deputy minister of the MPS, served at that time as a deputy minister at the Ministry of Culture and was a protege and confidant of Peng. So, in 1979, when he was serving as a deputy minister of culture, he was appointed by Peng as a deputy director of this "commission" and took part in formulating these two codes. It is true that these four deputy directors might have engaged the services of some legal experts and might have consulted the "Legal Committee" of the NPC, but the final texts must conform to the wishes of the MPS, GP, and PC. The drafts proposed by them would not be rejected by the NPC, because they were submitted to the NPC in the name of the CPC Central Committee. Who would dare to resist? Who would dare to oppose? History provides no precedent in which any instrument proposed by the CPC Central Committee has failed to gain passage. Needless to say, Chinese laws are formulated by the MPS, GP, and PC and not by the national legislature. What the laws embody is the will of the MPS, GP and PC rather than that of the people. Laws are enacted solely for the service of the dictatorship machinery, not for the protection of freedom and human rights.

## II. MPS, GP, and PC's Override Laws

Even such laws, if promulgated by the National People's Congress and assured of implementation, should be considered a major progress. In fact, after laws are promulgated, they can still be overridden by the MPS, GP, and PC. This is to say that when the dictatorship so requires, they can not only interpret laws at will but also can override them at any time. Furthermore, when circumstances call for the consolidation of the dictatorship and when laws have become impediments, the MPS, GP, and PC can put the laws away by adopting and implementing temporary measures. The 1983 "campaign against crimes" is an outstanding example.

The real purpose of that campaign, as revealed by friends who are in the know, was that the MPS, GP, and PC, especially the MPS, wanted to display their power to the nation, because they had been deprived of their power during the time of "gang of four" and had never fully recovered it. Therefore, after Liu Fuzhi had become minister of public security and first deputy director of the CPC Central Committee Political and Legal Commission (the current director is Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359]), he launched a campaign against crimes, which was, in fact, an attempt to assert the power of the MPS, GP and PC. It was said that Liu first obtained the consent of Peng Zhen and then, together with Peng, persuaded Deng Xiaoping to approve it. Deng had been on inspection

tours and had been deeply disturbed by social disorder. He therefore gave his consent. Thus began a hair-raising and blood curdling campaign.

However, a difficult problem was encountered at the very beginning of the campaign: it was hampered by the "Regulations Governing Arrests and Detentions." These "Regulations," promulgated in February 1978, had the nature of laws and all arrests and detentions had to be made on the basis of these regulations. They drew a distinction between two kinds of detention: "administrative detention" (to which these regulations were not applicable) and "criminal detention." Administrative detention is applied by public security agencies to persons who are charged with misdemeanors but who are not criminal offenders and to top persons who are caught for fistfighting, petty thefts, sexual harrasment of women, etc. and may last up to 15 days. Detainees with good behavior may be released, while those who display bad behavior may be sent away to reformatories for hard labor for a period of up to 3 years. Criminal detention is reserved for criminal offenders. Such detention may last up to 3 days, but may, under special circumstances, be extended for 4 more days. That is to say that investigations of a case must be completed within 1 week. If the detainee is found innocent, he must be released; if found guilty, he will be placed under formal arrest, to be prosecuted by the procurator and tried by a court.

Now that a campaign was underway, it had to display its boldness and momentum, which in turn called for mass arrests, detentions, and executions; all these had to be completed in a time-frame. The task was arduous and the time was pressing. If all actions were to be taken in accordance with the "Regulations Governing Arrests and Detentions," it would have been impossible to fulfill the mission and carry out the campaign. If actions were to be taken in violation of the regulations, one would worry about having to answer questions raised at the NPC and the People's Consultative Conference. What would be done then? Experts in dictatorship then came up with a marvelous idea: Let's draft a body of "regulations governing arrests and custody" to be applied exclusively to the campaign and to replace the "Regulations Governing Arrests and Detentions." They were proposed jointly by the MPS, GP, and PC and approved by Peng Zhen. At that time, Peng was already elected president of the Standing Committee of the NPC but remained in charge of political and legal matters in the Politburo. It was therefore unnecessary for the new regulations to be adopted by the NPC or to be published. This has made it possible to carry out mass arrests and imprisonments by resorting to the new regulations.

As these "Regulations Governing Arrests and Custody" were never published, there was no way of knowing how many articles comprised these regulations and what provisions they contained. According to friends who were in the know, the spirit of these regulations was that those who might or might not be arrested must all be arrested; those who might or might not be sentenced must all be sentenced; those who might or might not be imprisoned must all be imprisoned; and those who might or might not be executed must all be executed. No distinction was drawn between administrative and criminal detentions. No difference was made between criminal and political offenders. All were given the same "hodgepodge" treatment. As a result, public security agencies all

over the country might arrest, sentence, imprison, and execute people at random. Why did "randomness" become the order of the day? Friends have pointed out that during this campaign against crimes, there were fixed quotas for arrests and executions. Actual numbers might exceed, but should not all short of these quotas. Random arrests were necessary if the quotas were to be met. How many people were arrested? How many were executed? National statistics are not available. In the Beijing area alone, tens of thousands of people were arrested and up to 1,000 were executed.

According to the "Code of Criminal Procedure" promulgated in 1979, prosecution is the duty of the procuratorate while trial and sentencing are the duties of the court. Why then did they say that public security agencies carried out mass arrests, sentencing, imprisonment, and executions? Had the "Code of Criminal Procedure" been observed, there would have been a division of responsibility. But it was a campaign, the time was pressed, and the mission was arduous. If the "Code of Criminal Procedure" had been observed, the campaign would have been stalemated. For this reason, everything had to be handled by public security agencies alone, leaving the procuratorates and the courts with no other functions than countersigning and rubber-stamping, if the three parties had not been located at the same place. Hence, at the beginning of the campaign, the three organs set up a joint office on Meizha Hutong, outside the Qianment city gate of Beijing, an area where government executioners had traditionally performed their duties since the founding of the Qing dynasty. In a matter of weeks arrests were made in large numbers. Where were the prisoners kept? How could detention houses and prisons, which had already been filled to capacity, receive so many detainees? I have been told by friends that, during this period of detention, university dormitories were filled with such detainees (as it was summer vacation) and a number of hotels were temporarily converted into receiving stations. Numerous jeeps operated around the clock, hurrying back and forth between Meizha Hutong at one end and the detention houses, prisons, university dormitories, and hotels at the other. Even so, it would be impossible to complete in a short time the sentencing of tens of thousands of people and the execution of up to 1,000 people. At the rate of 10 minutes per case, including prosecution and sentencing, and 24 hours a day, they could only handle 17,280 cases in 4 months. How could they have handled tens of thousands of cases? It can be seen from this that, despite this joint office set up by the MPS, GP, and PC, everything was decided, in fact, by the Public Security Bureau, with the procuratorate and the court performing only the countersigning and stamping routine. And this was the situation in Beijing.

### III. Power of MPS Is Limitless

If there exists only these "regulations governing arrests and custody," something concocted only for a campaign, even if they were published, it would still be possible to gain acceptance by persuasive education through political pressure in mainland Chinese society which has gone through numerous campaigns, has grown accustomed to one-man rule, and has known nothing about the rule of law. But there have been reports about the existence of a top-secret document whose content, if revealed, would create serious problems. This particular document is an "internal circular concerning the exemption



from capital punishment of children of cadres who have committed crimes if such cadres are departmental or bureau directors or higher-ranking officials." This document is a masterpiece of the top brass in the MPS. How is it to be implemented? All the prisoners who have received death sentences will be held in separate confinement. After they are taken to prison, the first thing to do is to require them to reveal their family background and social relations. Those who meet the requirements set forth in the circular will be transferred to other prisons to await investigation. If such a family background is confirmed, their crimes will be minimized or completely forgotten so that the criminals may be released. If the crimes are so heinous as to arouse popular indignation, the criminals will be given prison terms for the moment and wait for an opportunity to arrive for their release.

Perhaps one would ask: Why then was a grandson of Zhu De executed? True, a grandson of Zhu De was executed. According to my friends, there were three reasons for this: (1) Zhu De is dead; (2) his grandson had committed the most heinous crimes and had earned the bitter hatred of the people, for which the CPC top leadership had come to regard him as beyond redemption and had long banished him from Beijing; and (3) the authorities needed a publicity stunt to show that all were equal before the law. Rumor has it that for this purpose, particular arrangement was made to have someone who was noted for moral excellence and was highly respected (said to be Deng Yingshao [6772 7336 6389]) to work on Kang Keqing [1660 0344 3237]. Kang was not the natural grandmother but the step-grandmother. Furthermore, as the pressure was too great, she had to sign the warrant. This incident has been greatly publicized within and outside of China. As a matter of fact, numerous children of high-ranking cadres have committed crimes, otherwise there would have been no need for such an "internal circular." Many relatives of a certain senior statesman have committed crimes; but no one dares arrest them because this senior statesman has declared: "As long as I breath, who would dare to arrest members of my family?" It is said that Deng Xiaoping has personally given instructions that the family members of this senior statesman are untouchable. Children of senior cadres have indeed been arrested, among them the son of Li Jingquan [2621 0064 3132] (nicknamed Fatso Li). Because of his heinous crimes, he was immediately placed on death row. When Li Jingquan got wind of this, he used his influence and Fatso Li was immediately released and eventually sent to Sichuan where he was placed under the protection of the army.

#### IV Public Security Bureaus Trade in Human Lives

Children of senior cadres who are departmental or bureau directors and highranking officials are not to be executed for capital crimes, and this is a privilege. According to reports, certain ordinary people may likewise obtain such a pardon and release, provided that they have relatives living abroad who will pay their ransom. Since this provision does not appear in any document, such ransoms vary widely. Extortionists are different, and so are their demands. As the targets of extortion are different, so the prices vary widely.

## V. It Is a Crime To Argue

An engineer from Hong Kong named Liu Qingshan [0491 7230 1472] was sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment. This remains a puzzle to the people of Hong Kong. This engineer was sympathetic to civil rights activist Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772] and, after Wang's arrest, went to Guangzhou to visit Wang's family. In mainland China, sympathy for "counter revolutionaries" is a crime. When he was arrested, he argued with the authorities and, because of this, was given a long prison term. It is even worse with people living in China.

Liu Qing [0491 7230] of Beijing went to the Public Security Bureau of Beijing to argue with the authorities after the arrest of Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] and others and never returned. To sum up, no matter who you are, you commit a crime if you argue with an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Wei Jingsheng, Wang Xizhe, and others were arrested for the same reason, for arguing with the authorities. As early as 1957 many people were stigmatized as rightist for daring to argue.

My friend went on to say: However, even public security agencies know that political prisoners are a ticklish issue to deal with. Although nobody in China dares publicly to express sympathy, yet there are always foreign sympathizers who protest all the time. The newest trick is, therefore, to turn political offenders into criminal offenders. How is this done? Very simple. It is done by charging a political prisoner with a number of criminal offences, thus making him, in the jargon of the MPS, GP, and PC, a "double convict." That is why Red China recently denied to existence of political prisoners on the mainland. They said there were only "counterrevolutionaries." During this campaign, a considerable number of political prisoners were executed. However, they were not called political prisoners, but criminal prisoners. In fact, political prisoners can never escape punishment. They are always the objects of high-handed repression.

## VI. Police Have the Prerogative To Beat and Kill

Based on the foregoing, one can easily see that the "rule of law" in Red China is, in effect, ruled by the MPS, GP, and PC or simply by the police and that a dictatorship of the proletariat means a police dictatorship. For this reason, the modern police enjoy unprecedented prerogatives. I will mention only two prerogatives:

1. The prerogative to beat people. They beat people, not criminals. The beating of criminals seems to be a traditional right enjoyed by the police since the founding of the republic, but it is not a prerogative. However, beating innocent people is indeed a prerogative. In mainland China, with the execution of the 10-year Cultural Revolution, no one has the right to beat others. Teachers do not have the right to beat their students. Officers do not have the right to beat their men. Who would dare to beat others? Only the police have the right to beat others, not only ordinary people but also government cadres.



2. The prerogative to kill people. Ordinary people who have offended the police will only get beaten black and blue. Members of a team undergoing reform or reeducation through labor would be courting death if they dared to offend the police. When prisoners are performing hard labor in the fields, they are watched by policemen who carry guns. The rule is to designate a certain point as the center, and the prisoners are told to remain within a radius of so many meters, otherwise they will be shot to death. Under such circumstances, the police have the right to kill people. If a policeman hates a certain prisoner and decides to get rid of him, he will take advantage of this opportunity to do it. He will order the prisoner to do exercises somewhere near the outer limit and then shoot and kill him for allegedly attempting to escape. Of course, no other prisoner will dare to tell the truth. The incident will then be reported and the policeman will be commended for doing the right thing.

Having discussed the above six aspects of the question, I believe there is no need for me to draw any conclusion, for the reader can now tell what is the socialist rule of law and who are the illiterates in law.

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7 July 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## PROBLEMS IN STRENGTHENING POLITICAL WORK CADRE RANKS DISCUSSED

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 5 Mar 86  
pp 21-23

[Article by the Research Office of the Beijing Party Committee Organization Department: "Several Problems in Stabilizing and Strengthening the Ranks of Political Work Cadres"]

[Text] Recently, we have conducted a study of the conditions of political work cadres in some of the units in Beijing. We feel that, at this time, the stabilization and strengthening of political work cadre ranks is an urgent problem deserving the attention and concern of the party leadership at the various levels.

## I

Our present political work cadre contingent is one whose political quality is quite good and who can withstand tests. We cannot underestimate their work performance and doubt the active role that they can play in the construction of the two civilizations. Yet this contingent also has many weaknesses and conditions inappropriate to the needs of the building of the two civilizations. In certain areas, the problems are especially prominent.

First, some comrades are not enthusiastic enough and a considerable number of them are not contented with political work.

In the past 2 years, a group of above mid-level cadres in their fifties, have been readjusted downward from their leadership positions; among them, there is a larger proportion of political work cadres and their readjustment has a substantial impact on some of the political work cadres at their posts. Those comrades who have been transferred to political work from professional departments generally want to return to professional work. Those who are most discontinued with political work are university graduates assigned in recent years. Many of them are disdainful of political work and urgently want to assume professional and technical or administrative and management posts.

Second, many organizations do not have adequate allocation of personnel and some of them are not of good quality.

Since political work departments do not have uniform fixed assigned personnel, therefore, except for a few units which have sound organizations and adequate cadres, most of them do not have enough assigned political work cadres. In some of the second level companies with more than 10,000 people system-wide, there are only 2 or 3 persons in the organization department, while some mid-sized factories have only one person in the party committee organization department. Because of the lack of political work cadres, some units have given the party committee office the work of organization and propaganda.

As for quality, there has been an improvement in the educational level of political cadres in recent years. However, many units are still below the average educational level of the system's cadres. Among some of the committee members of the county basic branches, those with primary education level or who are illiterate account for 36.7 percent. The most prominent weakness of political work cadres is the lack of specialized political work knowledge. In recent years, many old political work cadres have been replaced by new ones in many units, but these new cadres have not received special training, so it is very common that those who are in charge of organization or propaganda do not know how to go about doing their job.

Third, there is an inadequate supply of political work cadres and a serious shortage of reserves.

This problem is already very serious and widespread; in particular, in such systems as culture and education, public health, athletics, science and foreign affairs which require relatively strong professional expertise, very few cadres want to do political work. In one of the plants, 67 university or secondary technical graduates have been assigned in a 2 year period, but only one of them wanted to do political work. Some high schools select political work cadres from their graduates every year, but after 1 or 2 years, only a few remain. The suburban areas report that they obtain their political work cadres mainly through intercepting "transient" cadres; party members and cadres transferred to those areas are often detained for political work. Yet to "draft able-bodied persons" is not the way; there is a difference between those who "want to do it" and those who "are asked to do it."

## II

Many different and complicated reasons account for the existence of these problems. We will mainly analyze the following four points:

First, the psychological impact brought about by the changes in the status of political work.

During the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution", Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had caused an unprecedented destruction of our party's political work. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and during the process of rectifying the "Leftist" ideological and political work, there also emerged certain erroneous propaganda which weakened and lowered the status of political work. There also developed among the masses a backlash against political work and many political cadres' attitude toward political work also changed from intense love to apathy or even weariness. Certain literary works has also seriously damaged the image of party political work and political work cadres.

Second, the pay of political work cadres are too low and cannot be compared favorably to professional or administrative cadres, thereby affecting adversely the enthusiasm of some of the political work cadres.

The most widespread phenomenon is this: many enterprise political work cadres can get only the lowest awards; some intellectuals transferred to political work departments cannot enjoy such treatment for intellectuals as books and newspapers allowances, vacations, residence allocations etc.; and in general, cadres transferred to political work departments are no longer evaluated or promoted to commensurate with their education and technical expertise.

Third, the growth of the political work cadres themselves are more restrictive, and their road to development are not as wide as that of the cadres engaged in professional or technical work. This is an important reason affecting the stability of the ranks of political work cadres.

Many political work cadres have indicated that they do not mind being paid less, what worries them most is their future. A considerable number of university graduates of the late 1950's and early 1960's are now associate professors or senior engineers; yet promotion opportunities for those assigned to political work are few and many of them are still regular political work cadres. With the implementation of a wage system based on positions, this contradiction will become even more prominent.

Four, it is indeed more difficult to do political work at this time.

The basic level political work cadres report that there are "four difficulties" in current political work: it is difficult to unify the different active ideologies, to change the idea of "paying attention to money," to explain clearly the policy adjustments, and to be vocal about the erroneous party style. They feel that they cannot work with the masses properly since they have not yet understood clearly many of the theoretical problems.

### III

It is not easy to solve all the above problems. Yet we must have a correct understanding of the urgency in solving these problems.

First, we have to affirm that political work is the lifeline of economic and every other kind of work.

In a new historic era, it is absolutely correct to focus on economic construction and to stress the role of the administrative guiding system. Yet we cannot lower the status and role of ideological and political work. If we do not stress ideological and political work or strengthen the construction of spiritual civilization, we cannot guarantee the smooth progress of the building of material civilization or the proper development of the reform of the economic system, and the superiority of socialism cannot be fully displayed. At this time, it is still necessary to study and propagandize what Comrade Mao Zedong has emphasized: "The absence of a correct political viewpoint is tantamount to the absence of the soul."

Second, we should truly consider building the ranks of the political work cadres from the perspective that political work is a profession.

The cry that political work is a profession has been heard for many years, but in reality, it has not been treated as such. For example, in the selection of political work cadres, it seems that anyone can do political work, whatever special training he may or, indeed, may not have. In recent years, certain units have even placed cadres who are not appropriate for other professional and technical or administrative and management work into political work departments, causing a decline in the standard and prestige of those departments.

In recent years, in order to change the age and educational structures of the political work cadre ranks, many units have transferred intellectuals in professional and technical work to political work departments. Many comrades consider this to be a tremendous improvement. We believe that such a method has to be analyzed specifically. Many of those middle-aged intellectuals with good political qualities who have been promoted to leadership positions above the middle level are indeed equal to the task and can create a new situation. But there are those whose selections have proven to be mistakes: many of them neither have the knowledge of nor the interest for party political work; consequently, political work has not been done right and their original professions have also been impeded. In most cases, the transfer of university graduates or other technical cadres to do general political work at the basic levels does not produce satisfactory results.

Therefore, the current transfer of professional and technical cadres to political work can only be considered as a necessary method in a transitional

stage. In order to solve fundamentally the problem of the supply of political work cadres, we propose that a political work specialty be established in different types of professional and technical schools. For example, students in the political work specialty of a construction engineering school know right from the beginning that the objective of their training is to become political work cadres of the construction and engineering system. Their specialty in the school is political work and they study construction engineering in their basic courses. Students with such training will become political work cadres who can combine political and professional work in the construction and engineering system, and the question of their competency and wages will therefore be easier to deal with. Of course, political work cadres above the county (department) and provincial (bureau) levels will still have to receive additional training in such special schools as the party school and political work cadres school. If we start implementing such a measure now to solve fundamentally the problem of the supply of political work cadres, we can obtain results in 4 to 5 years.

Third, we have to solve the problem of wages for political work cadres from the perspective that political work is a form of special management work.

From the perspective of management studies, political work is also a type of management -- indeed, one with a special content and form. In the resolutions relating to economic reforms, the party central has clearly included enterprise party committee secretaries within the category of management cadres. Yet since political work cadres deal with people and not things, the results of their work is obviously gradual and based on potentiality. Thus, we cannot simply use the quantitative methods which are used to evaluate certain administrative and technical cadres or even laborers to judge the results of the political cadres' work; otherwise, we will inevitably overlook or even deny the results of their work and treat them unfairly.

We should truly view political work as a special form of management and profession and formulate scientific evaluation standards based on its peculiarity. We should establish firmly corresponding policies so that as far as pay is concerned, they will be treated equitably. Only through this can the ranks of political work cadres be stabilized and strengthened.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MARXISM, SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Apr 86 p 3

/Article by Yu Guangyuan /0060 0342 6678/: "Marxism and the Socialist Construction"/

/Text/ 1. What Is Marxism?

Is Marxism a social doctrine? A philosophical sociological system? Or a social ideology? Differences are not totally absent in the academic community. My view is that "it is all three."

As a social doctrine, Marxism is distinguishable not only from all nonsocialist doctrines, but also from other socialist theories of every description. Other social theories contain at most certain scientific elements, but only Marxism is built on the true and scientific cosmic and historical concepts and based on a strict scientific study of contemporary society. It is "scientific" socialism.

As a modern philosophical sociological system, it is complete as well as all-inclusive. That is one of its outstanding characteristics. Guiding so many scientific branches to such tremendous achievements is also one of its outstanding characteristics.

Philosophical, political, ethical, cultural and artistic, and other social concepts belong in the realm of social ideology and may be either Marxist or non-Marxist. In these aspects, Marxism is the proletarian and socialist ideology. Art and ethics also belong in the realm of social ideology, but they in themselves are not concepts. Rather than "Marxist art" and "Marxist ethics," it is more accurate to call them "socialist art" and "socialist ethics," but as socialist ideology, they are formed and developed under the guidance of Marxism, which plays a leading role.

2. Fundamental and Universal Truths of Marxism and Determination of Specific Issues

Fundamental and universal truths are not concepts. Fundamental truths make Marxism what it is. All things in the realm of fundamental truths are necessarily universal in nature, and thereby fall into the realm of universal truths,

but not all universal truths are fundamental. Universal truths may vary somewhat because of the different scopes of their universality. What is universal to a certain socioeconomic formation is not necessarily so to all formations of the human society. What is universal to liberal or monopoly capitalism may not be universal to the whole capitalist society. What is universal to the colonies may not be universal to the suzerain. Marxism includes all kinds of universal truths of diverse levels.

Marxist works also contain expositions on specific issues of the particular time and place. They are neither universal, nor fundamental.

In terms of fundamental truths, universal truths and expositions on specific issues, the attitudes of Marxists are not identical. At any time, in any place and under any circumstance, fundamental truths must be upheld. The fundamental truths of Marxism are also developing, but such development only signifies a greater richness and higher perfection, and there is no question of change. Marxists should apply the fundamental truths in studying new historical conditions, raise new issues, uncover truths of a universal nature, and make necessary revisions of specific expositions.

### 3. Developing Universal Truths of Marxism in Socialist Construction

With the progress of world history and the socialist cause, we need to study new issues of a universal nature and seek new laws. When capitalism progressed to the monopolistic phase, Lenin developed the universal truths of Marxism. The victory of the socialist revolution and the arrival of the period of socialist construction produced a far greater impact on world history than the development of free capitalism to monopoly capitalism; therefore, we have to raise many new universal issues of a momentous significance and bring up the historical mission of developing the universal truths of Marxism in the socialist construction.

If it is said that, in the phase of the democratic revolution, the mission of China's Marxists was to integrate the already discovered universal truths of Marxism on imperialism and the colonies and on the people's democratic revolution with China's concrete reality, then, in the period of socialist construction today, they are facing such a situation: The existing studies on the universal truths of Marxism on socialism and socialist construction have not reached the degree of maturity, and many issues are undergoing the course of exploration. Therefore, in addition to integrating the universal truths of Marxism with China's concrete reality, we must strive to develop the truths compatible with our times. The declaration of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee that the socialist economy remains a sort of commodity economy is a development of the universal truths of Marxism.

### 4. Developing Scientific Marxism Relevant to Socialist Construction

Scientific socialism may be divided into two parts: socialist revolution and socialist construction. The two parts may be traced to the same origin, and both contain the fundamental truths of Marxism. Nevertheless, there are substantial differences, and socialist construction is a development of socialist



revolution. Classical Marxist works contain many specific and concrete expositions on the socialist revolution, but only a general concept of socialist construction. As Marx and Engels lived in the past century and spent all their lives in capitalist society, they were not in a position to study the issues of socialist construction. Though Lenin made fairly specific studies of the socialist system after the victory of the revolution, as he lived in the transitional period, he had no contact with the special issues found in the period of socialist construction following the conclusion of the transitional period. In terms of social doctrines and theories in the period of socialist construction, only those living in the period can launch specific studies and propel Marxism forward.

In the period of socialist construction, we need Marxism to guide the reform of the socialist system, the operation of socialist enterprises of all kinds, the lives of the members of a socialist society and the building of the party and other social organizations of the period. Thus, we need to apply the fundamental truths of Marxism in studying the regularity of the nature of the socialist system and socialist society; the laws of the development of the socialist society; the basic issues of the politics, economy, culture and other aspects of social life and social relations; the principles to be followed in work and living; the basic strategies to promote the socialist construction cause and the basic policies on all aspects; and so forth. By so doing, we will develop Marxism for the socialist construction.

Today, in terms of the world, the mission of the socialist revolution has not been completed. The socialist revolutionary and scientific Marxism should also be developed to a greater extent. Nevertheless, China's Marxists living in the period of socialist construction should take the development of scientific Marxism for the socialist construction as their key assignment.

#### 5. Developing All Parts of Scientific Marxism Relevant to Socialist Construction

We must first of all expand the socialist part of political economy. Precisely as the capitalist part of political economy is the most important scientific basis in studying how Marx reached the conclusion of socialist revolution and formed his theories, the socialist part will guide us in the economic reform, the economic operation and the people's economic lives in the period of socialist construction and form the scientific basis for party building in the course of economic construction.

The development of Marxist theories on political science and law in the period of socialist construction also possesses an important significance. Even if the class struggle has not disappeared, the major social contradictions in the period of socialist construction no longer belong in the realm of class struggle, and commensurate changes are also occurring in political concepts. If political science of the period of socialist construction is not expanded, we will not be able to guide political practice. Strengthening the socialist legal system likewise calls for the perfection and development of the science of law for the period.

To solve the various social issues and develop the socialist social lives of all kinds in the period of socialist construction, we need to expand Marxist sociology under the socialist system. Social life under the socialist system possesses many characteristics absent under other social systems. As China is in the elementary phase of socialism and its social life possesses even greater peculiarities, our Marxists must exert a more vigorous effort in studying this field which has received relatively less attention.

#### 6. Developing Marxism Relevant to the Socialist Ideology

Since Marxism itself is the socialist ideology, developing Marxism is expanding the socialist ideology. Meanwhile, as Marxism plays a guiding role in the formation and development of such social ideologies as art and ethics, we need to develop Marxism for socialist art and ethics.

Today everyone gives attention to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. Broad in scope, spiritual civilization is not limited to social ideology. However, forming and expanding the socialist ideology is one of its important aspects. In terms of the role of Marxism in the formation and expansion of the socialist ideology, developing Marxism is of an important, or one may say decisive, significance.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PARTY'S WORK ON MARXIST THEORY VIEWED

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 5 Mar 86 pp 7-10

[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]: "The Lofty Responsibility of Theoretical Workers"]

[Text] In every age in which there are big changes in society, people's thinking is unprecedentedly invigorated, various opinions keep pouring in, and practice in life always raises a big pile of difficult problems for theory. It may be said that this is an historical phenomenon that takes on the nature of a law.

Now we are in the process of changing from the old system of organization to the new system of organization. The comprehensive launching of reforms and the grand practice of construction have really made our country enter a vigorous period. All over the motherland the breath of the times is rising for again spreading out the great map and going all out for progress and blazing new trails in reform. The development of practice urgently requires the development of theory. All sorts of questions are disturbing the people's mood and consciousness, and they yearn for scientific answers to them. The new changes in economic life and in social life are making people earnestly ponder. In these years, the tasks of theoretical work naturally seems extremely arduous and especially urgent.

### Give People Who Are Advancing Scientific Strength and Theoretical Strength

Not long ago, in a speech at a general meeting of cadres of central organizations, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that, generally speaking, in the next 5 years, we must, while continuing to engage in economic construction, engage in the two important matters of reforming the economic system and building socialist spiritual civilization, getting a grip on each one's logic, so that our cause of building socialist modernization in all aspects will develop in a sustained, stable, and coordinated fashion. He also said: "With a clear line and a clear blueprint, and also with a series of advantageous conditions, under these circumstances, an extremely critical question will further arouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of party members, broad masses of cadres, and the 1 billion masses of people." To inspire the people's revolutionary spirit for the realization of the party's general task and general goal--this extremely critical question--is without a doubt worthy

of serious treatment by our theoretical workers, and their providing an answer with their own work filled with results.

In our country, people often call theoretical workers, literature and art workers, educational workers, news and publishing workers, and ideological and political workers the engineers of the human spirit. Engineers of the human spirit--this is a uniquely honorable and lofty title. Even if their posts are different, their occupations are different, their specific professions are different, and their forms of work and forms of activity are different, they all shoulder a common duty, namely, through their own good mental products and their teaching, lecture, and demonstration activity, to inspire the people, and from their mental state and realm of thought help people to struggle hard for the cause of building socialist modernization, bravely devoting themselves to it, displaying their creative power, and contributing all their intelligence and wisdom.

This common duty must be fulfilled through different ways that are of many and varied forms. Speaking of literature and art, they must, through perceptual forms and through the portrayal of flesh and blood, vivid and touching artistic images, influence people's spirit, mood, and consciousness inspiring them and spurring them to advance. Theory is different. Theory appeals to the rational, and uses things as well as the understanding of their developments and change to arm people's minds. The strength of theory, the strength of science, and the strength of logic enlightens people and spurs them to make progress. Without the slightest doubt, it is not an easy thing to give people the strength of theory and the strength of science when they are engaged in reform and the construction of modernization. It demands that theoretical workers get deeply involved in actual life, understand people's moods and aspirations, strive to discover the internal relations in life and explore the essence and laws of things, and with all of this clarify all sorts of muddled ideas and mistaken understandings that cause people to be slack in spirit and negative in mood.

For example, we often hear the comment that the open-door policy and the reforms really invigorate the economy, and that there is material development and a rise in production, but that spirits are lowered and thinking retrogresses. What, in the final analysis, is the relationship between the open-door policy and the reforms on the one hand and the building of socialist spiritual civilization on the other? This is a question that needs to be answered. A large number of lively facts over the past several years show that because a series of principles and policies for opening the door and making reforms have been thoroughly implemented, and because of the development of socialist commodity economy, people's field of vision has been greatly broadened, and the confining, conservative, and narrow small-producer mentality has been swiftly smashed. People's pursuit of scientific, cultural, and technological knowledge is unprecedentedly strong, and the idea of despising knowledge and looking down on talented persons has been widely corrected. People's consciousness of competing with others and of catching up with and overtaking them has been enhanced, arousing an extremely valuable spirit of reforming and blazing new trails. Their listless state of inertia, staying in a rut, and being complacent and conservative is changing. To meet the demands of economic development, educational and cultural undertakings are developing

vigorously. In the last 1 or 2 years, in townships and villages, mountain areas and remote areas, cultural centers and reading rooms, which had never been seen in them, have been set up. The great practice of reforming, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the economy is calling for the flourishing of scientific theory. Marxist theory is combining with the dynamic creative practice of socialism, and is constantly being enriched and newly developed. And so forth and so on. All of these things are, of course, inadequate to summarize the positive effects of reform and opening to the outside world on people's inner world and on society's ideology, but life in itself is really a very good textbook. With its indisputable facts it tells people: reform and the opening to the outside world are powerfully promoting the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. This is the essence of the matter. The task of theory is to make extractions from the multifarious, numerous and complicated surface phenomena and reveal the relations of this essence. By saying this, we are, of course, not denying that in certain people's realm of thought, moral style and features, and concept of discipline there still exist many negative factors (some of them fairly serious). But can we maintain that these negative factors are the inevitable products of the great socialist practice of reform and opening to the outside world? Of course we can't. A theoretical analysis of the true causes of these negative factors that reveals the essential relations between reform and opening to the outside world on the one hand and the building of socialist spiritual civilization on the other will inject the strength of scientific theory into people's practice of reform and the open-door policy, heighten their consciousness, and increase their confidence and courage.

In this respect we really should study the book "Popular Philosophy" by Comrade Ai Siqi [5337 1835 1142]. In the thirties and the years afterward, "Popular Philosophy" has won many readers, kindled the hopes of thousands and thousands of youths, and given young readers who seek light, truth, and revolution enlightenment, inspiration, and encouragement. This fact fully shows that provided the scientific truths of Marxism impact on people's spirits and are grasped by the masses, a strength that cannot be estimated will be produced. Today, as compared with the decade in which "Popular Philosophy" was written, there have already occurred earth-shaking changes. However, we must never forget that the fate of theory is always decided by the degree to which it satisfies the society, the times, and the people. The richness and variety in the practice of making reforms and constructing the four modernizations, and the changes day after day in life, promote the development of new concepts and new ideas about the overall progress of the socialist cause. But old ideas and old traditions that hinder social progress still tie down people's minds. This means that we theoretical workers must not avoid problems, but must link up with the people's feelings. We must maintain the closest connections with the reality of life, and use forms easily received by people to reuse in practice theories summarized in practice, and give good spiritual food to people during their advance.

Attach Importance to Study, Research, and Publicizing of the Party's Important Documents Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee

To promote the development of our cause of reform and construction, to scientifically answer all sorts of questions of people's thinking and

understanding, as theoretical workers our responsibility is to strengthen theoretical research on all sorts of topics on the road of building socialism with distinctive Chinese features; strengthen the scientific interpretation of the party's line, principles and policies in the present stage; and strengthen the study, research, and publicizing of the important documents since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee.

Seven years have passed since the Third Plenary Session. In these 7 years the facts of the enormous, gratifying changes in our country's economic life, political life, cultural life, as well as the life of the entire society tell us that the Third Plenary Session really was a great turn in our country's history and the beginning of a new stage in the development of history. It corrected the longstanding mistaken policy of "taking class struggle as the key link" and firmly switched the focus of the party's and the state's work to the construction of socialist modernization. Henceforth, revolving around this center, a series of major principles and policies that accorded with the national condition and with popular feelings were established, and a road for building socialism with distinctive Chinese features was found. They form a scientific summation of the experiences in the practice of socialism, and they contain a deepening of the cognition of the laws of development of China's modern history. The history of the development of Marxism shows that theory guides practice and that practice is also the inexhaustible fountainhead for the development of theory. The great practice in these 7 years of the party's leading the people to bring order out of chaos and to engage in comprehensive reform, and the great practice of the party's leading the people to build a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist country, have greatly advanced our socialist cause. At the same time, under the new historical conditions, during the process of combining the basic principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of our country's construction of socialist modernization, Marxism has been developed and a new contribution has been made to enriching the theoretical treasure house of Marxism. My understanding is that this new contribution includes, proceeding from the new historical practice, the setting forth of new theoretical principles and the making of new theoretical generalizations. It also includes, based on the changes in historical conditions, the upholding of the basic principles of Marxism, the smashing of certain specific principles that are already outmoded or that practice has proved are not completely correct and the replacement of them with new conclusions. It also includes using the experience of new practices to replenish and enrich the original basic principles, so that they are more perfect and more concrete.

On 9 July 1983, in an article entitled "Theoretical Workers Must Serve the Construction of Socialist Modernization," I wrote: "With regard to our party's series of important policy decisions and major principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session, and with regard to our party's development of Marxist-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought since the Third Plenary Session, we not only should, in theory, carry out conscientious, systematic research and publicizing; but also, proceeding from this basic fact, should draw profound inspiration from the fact that they must maintain close connections with our socialist practice." There is no need to doubt that, in implementing the policy of making theoretical work serve the construction of socialist modernization, a policy which contains many-sided content, we must not



understand the policy narrowly. However, strengthening the study of the party's important documents since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Committee is an extremely important aspect in implementing this policy; of this there also need not be any doubt. The results of this study will be reflected in the cadres' education on theory and in the schools' teaching of theory, will be reflected in the propaganda on theory, and will greatly enhance the people's understanding of the path we have found since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee for building socialism with distinctive Chinese features, a path which we are taking unswervingly and with confidence, and also promote the flourishing and development of our country's philosophical and social sciences, which are guided by Marxism, in the new practice.

#### Firmly Grasp the "Quintessence of Correctly Approaching Marxism."

In a speech at a meeting of government functionaries, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Marxism is developing. We oppose the tendency of bourgeois liberalization to negate Marxism and to hold that it is already 'outmoded,' and we also oppose the mistaken tendency to make Marxism a rigid dogma. The quintessence of the correct approach to Marxism is to apply the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism in studying and solving the real problems facing socialist China, and to better combine the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the concrete practice of China in constructing socialist modernization." This exposition clarifies the fundamental direction and the fundamental principle of the party's work on Marxist theory, and is of important significance for us, faced with new practice, to do good work in theoretical research and in theoretical propaganda and education.

To firmly grasp the "quintessence of correctly approaching Marxism," we have the necessity of recalling and reviving the party's excellent traditions as valuable experience in doing theoretical work.

In the Yan'en rectification period, to further develop the great undertaking of combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong, representing the party's Central Committee, set forth a fundamental demand for theoretical work, namely, to apply the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism to specifically study China's present situation and its history, and to specifically analyze the problems of China's revolution and solve them. He criticized the practice of being totally uninterested in the study of today's China and yesterday's China, and of only being interested in the study of "theory" divorced from reality. He maintained that, in accordance with the rich content of the Chinese revolutionary movement, the theoretical front was highly unsuitable, and, comparing the two, the theoretical aspect was extremely backward. Generally speaking, our theory still could not run in parallel with revolutionary practice, and even less could it be said that theory should run in front of practice. We had not yet raised the rich reality to the proper degree of theory. We had still not observed and studied all the questions, or the major questions, or revolutionary practice, so as to raise them to the stage of theory. To change this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that we should straighten out muddled ideas concerning what is a theoretician and what is the relationship between theory and reality.

What is theory? He said: "There is only one true theory in the world, namely, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then is borne out by objective reality. Nothing else deserves to be called the theory we are talking about." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 775)

What are theoreticians? He pointed out that we "want the kind of theoreticians who are able, based on the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism, to correctly interpret the actual problems that occur in history and in revolution, and to give scientific interpretations and theoretical explanations of all sorts of problems in China's economy, politics, military affairs, and culture." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 772)

What is theoretical work? He maintained: "Marxism carries out detailed investigation and study in actual struggle and summarizes all sorts of things. The conclusions obtained are then taken into actual struggle to be proved. This kind of work is called theoretical work. In our party there is a need for many comrades to learn to do this kind of work." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 775)

What is the relationship between theory and reality? He pointed out: "How is Marxist-Leninist theory to be linked to China's revolutionary reality? To use a common expression, it is by 'shooting the arrow at the target.'" "Only if Chinese communists are good at applying the standpoint, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism, good at applying the theories of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Chinese revolution, further conscientiously study them from the angle of China's historical reality and revolutionary reality, and in all aspects make theoretical creations that meet the needs of China, can they link theory with reality." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition pp 777, 778)

These expositions by Comrade Mao Zedong played an enormous role in spurring comrades engaged in the theoretical work to study important actual problems so as to better serve the victory of the Chinese people's great revolution. Today, more than 40 years later, we still feel touched by them and derive profound enlightenment from them.

Coming to the period of socialist transformation and the building of socialism, in 1956, at the Eighth CPC Congress the political work report specially pointed out that we must conscientiously strengthen the systematic study by cadres, first of all by high-level cadres, of Marxism-Leninism, so that they become good at using the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism to observe and solve problems in actual life; improve their capability to judge the direction and clearly distinguish the true from the false amid complex circumstances; and also learn how to use the theory of Marxism-Leninism to study and arrange their own work experiences and find out in these experiences the laws of the development of things. The report said that the party's theoretical work must be strengthened. We had to swiftly concentrate the necessary Marxist-Leninist scientific work forces inside and outside the party to engage in the study of the major problems and basic experiences in socialist transformation and in the building of socialism, to engage in the study of current international questions, and to engage in the



study of the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism and the scientific departments with which Marxism-Leninism had close relations, so that these series of studies would meet the urgent needs of the party's current actual work, and would meet the urgent needs for giving the broad masses of youths an education in Marxism-Leninism that united theory and reality.

What enlightenment do we get from restudying the expositions on theoretical work by Mao Zedong and the CPC Central Committee in the democratic revolution period and the period of socialist transformation and socialist construction?

1. From 1942, when, during the Yan'an rectification, it was proposed that we apply the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism to the study of the actual problems of the Chinese revolution, to 1956, when the Eighth CPC Congress stressed engaging in the study of the major problems and basic experience in our country's socialist transformation and building of socialism, to the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, after which it was proposed that theoretical work serve the construction of socialist modernization, and that the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism be applied to the study of the major topic of building socialism with distinctive Chinese feature--running through all this time was the principle of combining the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific reality. Our party's series of expositions since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee are the carrying on and development in the new period of the party's excellent tradition in theoretical work. A theoretical worker should always bear in mind and follow faithfully this principle and this excellent tradition.

2. The fundamental direction for the party's theoretical work is to integrate theory with reality, to closely combine it with reality. A theoretical worker who advances in this direction must diligently study and master Marxist theory and must constantly improve his capability to solve the new social, economic, political, and cultural problems. At the same time, he must in detail listen attentively to the voice of practice and keenly reflect the surging advance of the tide of life. In this way, he will be able, following the development of creative socialist practice, to always keep the vitality of theoretical work.

3. Theoretical work has always been an important component part of all the party's work, and the theoretical front is a front with a special mission. The mission of theory is, proceeding from objective reality, to discover essences and look for laws, and with them arm people's minds. Obviously, this is an undertaking that requires the expenditure of enormous, painstaking care and arduous work. It requires that theoretical workers face the new, rich practice and carry out creative theoretical studies.

Practice is the source of theory's development, and theory draws vigor from practice. The fiery life in reform and the construction of the four modernizations encourage, inspire, and attract us theoretical workers. Let us work hard to make our proper contribution to the development of Marxism.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PUBLIC OPINION ON LEGAL SYSTEM NOW IN FORCE SURVEYED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 27 Jan 86 p 1

[Article: "A Poll of Readers Taken by ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO Reveals a Popular Hopeful View of Our Democracy and Legal System"]

[Text] From 16 to 20 January, eight members of the ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO editorial department divided themselves into four groups and then went to catch a north- or south-bound train. Once on board, they set out to conduct a social survey of public opinion on our democracy and legal system now under development, or on issues of popular concern, in a way that permitted the respondents to express their views freely without having to mention their name and units. Forms issued were all enthusiastically and conscientiously filled out by participants in the survey on board the trains. Their opinions will prove instrumental in improving our government and legal work.

Among the answers to the question "in your opinion, what is the most striking issue of the day with regard to the development of our democratic legal system?" The answer "we must straighten out the relationship between power and law" accounted for 69 percent, "our legal system remains to be improved" accounted for 30 percent, "laws are still ignored" accounted for 29 percent, and "our attacks against bad people remain ineffective" accounts for 16 percent of the responses.

Among the answers to the question "what is your most fervent expectation of our people's police?" The answer "they are really expected to serve the people well" accounted for 56 percent and "don't act like a big boss" accounted for 24 percent of the responses.

In response to the question "what is your most fervent expectation of our people's judges?" the answers "they must be just and selfless" and "they must disregard personal interests" combined accounted for 96 percent of the responses.

In response to the question "what is your most fervent expectation of our people's prosecutors?" the answer "they must prosecute each case with a sense of justice" accounted for 64 percent and the answer "they must dare to hit back at challengers" accounted for 49 percent of the responses.

In response to the question "what do you expect a lawyer to do for you?" the answer "he must argue the case in my behalf according to due process" accounted for 74 percent of the responses.

This survey indicates that the concept of our socialist democracy and legal system has gradually become popular with the people despite the fact that some people still do not clearly understand what due process really means. Although some 75 percent of the respondents in their answers to the questions considered it absolutely necessary to widen the circulation of popular legal knowledge, when asked "whether your unit is aware that all economic contracts it has signed must conform to the Economic Contract Act," only 10 percent of the respondents answered "aware," while 27 percent answered "unaware" and 25 percent replied that "as long as both parties agree, everything is O.K."

In response to the question "what is your best interpretation of socialist democracy and freedom?" some 80 percent of the respondents described it as "a full exercise of power within the framework of law" while 3 percent interpreted it as "an expression of free will."

When asked: "What will you do when you find your legitimate rights or those of your relatives being jeopardized?" the answer "follow due process" of law accounted for 58 percent of the responses while the answer "consult the leadership" accounted for 25 percent and another answer, "do everything in my own way" accounted for 19 percent.

The masses also expressed deep interest in our legal system, knowledge of which must be disseminated among the people through education. When asked: "Through what channels do you mainly get your legal knowledge?" 68 percent of the respondents replied that "they usually draw such knowledge from newspaper articles on the legal system" while 22 percent said that "they get it through reading law books," 7 percent stated that "they get it through reading court rulings," 15 percent said that "they get it through watching movies and television programs and reading novels," and 10 percent said that "they get it by attending law classes."

When asked: "What difficulties have you encountered in studying laws?" some 31 percent of the respondents pinpointed "a lack of relevant reading materials" as their answer while 30 percent pointed out the "unavailability of time" and some 34 percent gave "unavailability of instructions" as their answer.

Of course, the masses are more interested in action than in language. When asked: "In your opinion, what is the most effective means of education in legal system?" some 59 percent replied that "it is the exemplary role played by the leading comrades in studying and obeying the laws" while 22 percent said that "it is the newspaper and other propaganda media that need to be strengthened" and 17 percent said that "it is an environment in which everyone will act in strict accordance with the law."

Some people also took this opportunity to express hope and give suggestions with regard to political and legal work.

Among the participants in the survey were workers, peasants, cadres, intellectuals, military personnel, and college students. Among them, those with an educational background at the high school or higher level accounted for 75 percent. When answering questions, some even gave each two or even more answers. In tabulating the answers, this factor was taken into consideration.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROCURATORATES' ROLE IN SAFEGUARDING PUBLIC ORDER PRAISED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 29 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Wei Zhan [7614 3277]: "Maintain Public Order and Relieve People of Worries"]

[Text] During the past year, as a result of a full demonstration of their prowess, the prosecution and litigation departments of the procuratorates at all levels throughout the country forwarded more than 400 reports on prosecution and litigation to the Supreme People's Procuratorates and received important instructions from some leading comrades who had seen them. In this way, they have played a positive role in relieving the party and people of worries.

Under the guidance of the idea emphasizing "real action instead of guerdulous talk," the prosecution and litigation departments of the procuratorates at all levels have carried out work in many ways and have scored successes.

By reflecting the current situation and providing information, they have served the party and government as their "advisers," "eyes," and "ears." In addition to dealing severe blows to criminals, the prosecution and litigation department of the procuratorate on the outskirts of Whuh City, Anhui, conducted an investigation of 105 convicts and their families and came up with proposals which have drawn the attention of local party and government leaders and which have been circulated to all units throughout the city. In doing so, the department has helped speed up the rehabilitation of the convicts and has had a comforting effect on their families.

They have helped carry out the struggle against criminal offenses and economic crimes by providing clues. During the past 2 years, prosecution and litigation departments of the procuratorates at various levels in Yunnan came up with more than 87,500 clues for many different cases while the prosecution and litigation department of the Zhongning County procuratorate is still remembered as the provider of the clues that helped break a major economic crime ring involving a dozen department-level cadres of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.

They have helped bring many cases to a successful conclusion. From January through September 1985, the prosecution and litigation departments of the

procuratorates at various levels in Sichuan helped reverse verdicts on more than 720 cases involving people who were unfairly, falsely, and wrongly charged while the same department of the Shanghai municipal procuratorate helped rehabilitate the daughter of Xu Teli, a revolutionary of the older generation, as a result of a conscientious reinvestigation of a case concerning the miscarriage of Justice. During the same period, the prosecution and litigation departments of the procurates at various levels in Henan Province helped bring more than 1,090 cases to a successful conclusion, thus saving the state more than 1.16 million yuan in economic losses while the same departments in Yunnan and Jiangsu helped in bringing to justice those public security cadres and police officers accused of beating people to death and interfering with the freedom of correspondence. In the end, the accused were punished and the citizens' legitimate rights were preserved.

Through interviewing visitors and handling letters, they have become actively involved in the preservation of public security and social order. Through the handling of prosecution and litigation cases, the Helan County procuratorate of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region has come up with 28 suggestions on prosecution for the departments concerned to prosecute the cases more effectively. A young woman in Luan City, Anhui, almost wanted to commit suicide because she flunked a test for a cadre position. It was only after the prosecution and litigation department of a local procuratorate worked patiently with her did she change her mind and want to live again. In the end, she passed an entrance examination given by the East China College of Political Science and Law. Prosecution and litigation cadres of the Shenquan municipal procuratorate, Guangdong, have helped achieve unity between the police and the people and social stability because of their prompt efforts to settle a dispute between the police and the local people. The prosecution and litigation department of procuratorates at all levels throughout the country have also actively moved to improve their work style by sending workers out of their offices to "visit people" instead of "letting visitors come to see them." In this way, they have created a favorable effect on society.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHAIRMAN OF STATE NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS COMMISSION INTERVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] Overseas Edition in Chinese No 17, 28 Apr 86 p 8

[Article by Zi Du [1311 1653]: "Interview With Ismail Amat, New Chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission"]

[Text] "In March this year, I came from Xinjiang to Beijing to begin my duties as Chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. I am fully aware that this is a trust and hope placed by the party on the people on this minority nationality cadre." Ismail Amat [0674 7456 5030 5337 6314 2251], when interviewed by this periodical's reporter the other day, was talking about his feelings.

Ismail Amat, the new chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, was born in 1935 to a poor peasant family of Uygur nationality in Qira County, southern Xinjiang. In 1951, he took part in work for reduction of rent for land and opposition to local despots and work for land reform. When he was 21 years old, he became a deputy secretary of the Qira County CPC Committee and subsequently also became the head of Qira County. From 1960 to 1962, he studied in the Xinjiang class at the CPC's Higher Party School. After graduation, he became deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC and Farmland Commission and deputy director of the autonomous region's Culture, Education, and Political Department. Before this transfer to Beijing he was a secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region CPC Committee and chairman of the autonomous region's People's Government.

Ismail Amat is a Xinjiang deputy to the Sixth NPC. In these days he has attended the fourth session of the Sixth NPC held in Beijing, and also accepted the invitation issued by the fourth session of the Sixth CPPCC to take part in some forums, while being busy with the work of studying and handling the work of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. When this reporter met him in his office he was wearing a neat Western suit and a round Uygur cap. He was bent over his desk pursuing documents.

Ismail Amat discussed some of his ideas about his new post. He said: "Our country is a united country of many nationalities, and nationalities work relates to the great cause of the four modernizations. The post of chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission in the past was held by old revolutionaries of noble character and high prestige, like Li Weiham [2621



4850 3352], Ulanhu [3527 5695 1133], and Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088]. I am an Uygur born and bred in Xinjiang. I feel that my talent is poor, and I am apprehensive about filling a post of great responsibility." But he said with confidence: "There are many favorable conditions for doing this work well. First of all there are the nationalities policies formulated by the party and the government. When I came to Beijing this time, Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534], and other leaders talked with me. I have confidence that, with the many experienced cadres of the organization of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, with the responsible persons of various nationalities as well as the cadres of various nationalities in the autonomous areas throughout the country, and side by side with the masses, we will further put the party's and state's principles and policies on minority nationality areas on a solid footing, and constantly develop the building of the economy and the culture in minority nationality areas."

Ismail Amat talked with zest about the Sixth Five-Year Plan period and the successes obtained in China's nationalities work. He said that the several hundred minority nationality representatives attending the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC from the shores of the East Sea to the Pamirs, from Hainan Island to Nei Monggol, and from all quarters all brought good news to the session. Last year the five large autonomous regions--Nei Monggol, Xinjiang, Guangxi, Ningxia, and Xizang--fulfilled the main norms in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Total output value of industry and agriculture grew by 13.9 percent over that of 1984. The average income of peasants and herdsmen exceeded the country's average, and in Nei Monggol and Xinjiang it increased by more than 100 yuan. In the past several years, educational and cultural undertakings in the nationality autonomous areas have developed rapidly. This is because the party and the government, proceeding from the reality in the nationality areas and from the characteristics of all minority nationalities, have put into practice special flexible policies and measures, and in financial resources, material resources, and technological forces have provided vigorous support and help. It is because the comparatively developed Han nationality areas have vigorously initiated "assistance geared to needs" and technical cooperation with minority nationality areas, and in addition that the minority nationalities have been self-reliant and have struggled arduously.

Ismail Amat said: "The Seventh Five-Year Plan stressed the continuation of the series of policies in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period for bringing prosperity to old revolutionary bases, minority nationality areas, border areas, and poor areas, and that the state will continue to give vigorous support in all respects. The party and the state have shown solicitude and concern for making the minority nationalities soar economically together with the great motherland and step by step develop a bright future of common prosperity. As director of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, I should put forth all my strength to implement conscientiously and thoroughly the state's policy for making the people prosper and, side by side with the several hundreds of thousands of minority nationality people, battle against poverty and backwardness."

This reporter asked him: What is the principal work that the State Nationalities Affairs Commission plans to do this year?

Ismail Amat said that from now on the focus of nationalities work would be the economic development of the minority nationality areas. He said that the State Nationalities Affairs Commission is now, with the relevant department of the State Council and the social scientific research units, organizing as fast as possible six investigation teams which will make a special investigation and study the question of the economic development of poor minority nationality areas. Because of historical and natural conditions, in some places in China's minority nationality areas economic development is very uneven, and many places in the minority nationality areas are still in a state of backwardness. In the minority nationality areas, there are vast territories, abundant resources, and rich natural resources. Only by depending on modern scientific and technological civilization can their superiority in natural resources be transformed into economic superiority. He will put his main effort on initiating horizontal economic links between advanced areas in the interior and remote minority nationality areas. He praised the striking results produced over the past several years in the minority nationality areas by initiating assistance geared to needs, supporting the border areas with intelligence, holding economic consultations, and providing industrial and commercial training. He indicated that he would further create conditions for promoting the widespread, in-depth launching of these activities.

When talking about making more minority nationality areas into civilized places where the nationalities are united and live in harmony, Ismail Amat stressed that strengthening the unity of nationalities is the key to achieving the motherland's great cause of the four modernizations and to achieving the common prosperity of all nationalities. We must among the cadres of all nationalities, the masses, and particularly the youth conduct propaganda and education on the policy for and the unity of nationalities, and establish the idea in all nationalities that "nobody is separate."

Ismail Amat said that the State Nationalities Affairs Commission will coordinate with various department in doing good work in cultivating and training minority nationality cadres and specialized talents, and will continue to get a good grip on the development of cultural, educational, sports, and public health undertakings. This year it intends to hold together with the State Education Commission a national work conference on nationalities' education, implement the 9-year compulsory education law, and, based on the nationality characteristics in different areas, get a good grip on education.

He also told this reporter that in August this year there will be held in the capital of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region--Urumqi--the third national minority nationalities sports meet. He said that the rich and varied cultural life of the minority nationalities should be further invigorated. Also this year there will be held in Beijing a national exhibit of minority nationality musical instruments and dances, and there will be awards decided through discussions for television plays with minority nationality themes.

When the interview was ending, Ismail Amat said frankly: "I have just taken my post, and I don't have much to say. The State Nationalities Affairs Commission is a work organization that concretely carries out the party's and state's policies on nationalities and does nationalities work. Summing up what I have said in one sentence, from now on it must do some more practical work."

9727

CSO: 4005/703

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF LI DESHENG'S CAREER

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 104, 10 Mar 86 pp 38-39

[Article by Guo Leibu [6753 7191 1580]: "Why Was Li Desheng, Whose Career Has Suffered Ups and Downs, Appointed Political Commissar of the National Defense University?"]

[Text] "Stepping Aside" Proposed in 1982

At the 4th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee which was held last September, a group of party and government leaders volunteered to resign from the leading organizations of the Central Committee. Among them was Li Desheng, who was once vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This attracted the attention of people all over the world. This writer is fortunate enough to have some friends in military circles who are familiar with General Li Desheng's recent situation, as well as his military life and his ups and downs in officialdom, which are reverently recounted below.

According to them, as long ago as the 12th Party Congress (September 1982), Li Desheng put forward his request not to be reappointed to the Central Committee. Last July, Li wrote a letter to General Secretary Hu Yaobang restating his request to step aside. This letter was later transmitted as a Politburo reference material.

The letter said, "This year I am going on 70, and I have been a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee for several terms. Now, as I am no longer fit for the requirements of the situation, I shall retire to allow younger people to take charge and be trained."

Not all of the ups and downs in Li Desheng's career have been his own doing, but this "fall" was genuinely voluntary.

Li Desheng was born in 1916 in Lijia'ao, Guangshan County, Henan Province. His mother died when he was a child, his father was a farm laborer, and he worked as a cowherd in his childhood. In February 1930 he joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in his locality. In 1931 he joined the Youth Corps. The next year, he became a member of the Communist Party of China. He rose from the rank of soldier to squad leader, platoon leader,

company commander, battalion commander, regimental commander, brigade commander, division commander, up to army commander and commander. He participated in the Long March, going through remote areas with the army. During the Anti-Japanese War he fought boldly, leading 80 members of the "Dare To Die" Corps in an attack against an enemy base. During the Battle of A Hundred Regiments and the campaign against the enemy's mopping-up operations, he received much praise for his bravery in battle. During the War of Liberation, he served as brigade commander of the 6th Column of the Central Plains Field Army, which was under the command of Liu Shaogi and Deng Xiaoping. In the battle of Xianglan, he commanded the 17th Brigade in a series of attacks on the enemy's three-prong blockade line and captured Kang Ze [1660 3419], commander of the KMT's 15th Pacification Region; the whole brigade was cited for meritorious service. In 1951 he went to fight in Korea as division commander and Deputy Army Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers and took part in the Fifth Battle and the famous Battle of Shang Gan Ling. He returned home in 1954 and became an army commander in 1955, receiving a major general's rank and the 3d Degree August 1st Award, the 2d Degree Independence and Freedom Award, and the 1st Degree Liberation Award.

#### How He Became Vice-Chairman

At the start of the Cultural Revolution, he was concurrently Deputy Commander of the Nanjing Military Region and Commander of the 12th Army. In 1967 he was ordered to go to Anhui, where the violence was the most severe, to support the leftists. He took his troops into a cross-fire zone between two factions, compelling them to cease fire. When a rebel faction used a train in its resort to violence, he ordered his troops to lay themselves across the track. When a rebel faction drove a car out, he had his troops lay themselves across the road in an effort to put an end to the rebel faction's violent actions. In Wuhu, members of a rebel faction had occupied a multistoried school building as a base. They barricaded all the doors and refused to surrender their weapons. This faction's resort to violence could not be checked. Li Desheng sent some men to negotiate with them, but the contact proposal was turned down. So Li Desheng himself climbed up a ladder and entered the base through a window. So terrified of his act was the faction that they dared not shoot him. After some discussion, the faction turned in the guns and gave up its resort to violence.

Perhaps because such acts of courage and ability were rare at the time, he received Mao Zedong's recognition of his worth. In April of 1969, at the Ninth CPC Congress, Li Desheng was elected to the Central Committee, as well as to the Politburo as an alternate member.

In the fall of 1970, Zhou Enlai made a telephone call to arrange for Li Desheng's transfer to Beijing to join the work group of the State Council. But as the General Office of the Military Commission submitted its list of members to Mao Zedong, Mao, with a stroke of his red pen, commented, "Li Desheng is one of the members of the Military Affairs Commission." In this way, Li Desheng suddenly participated in both the political and military affairs of the Central Committee. When the General Political Department was

to resume its operations, Lin Biao had originally planned to have either Li Zuopeng [2621 0155 7720] or Wu Faxian [0702 3127 2009] as its director; but after hearing that Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai thought highly of Li Desheng, he immediately changed his mind and tried to transfer Li to the post. He even said, "I want to use a soldier to control the intellectuals." That September Li Desheng officially became Director of the General Political Department of the Liberation Army.

At the 10th CPC Congress in August 1973, Li Desheng was reappointed to the Central Committee and, upon the recommendation of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, became a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and vice-chairman of the Central Committee.

#### Disobeying and Offending the Empress

When Li Desheng first assumed the post of vice-chairman, his main task was to take charge of several units directly under the General Political Department, including the August 1st Movie Studio, the Liberation Army Daily Office, and the Military Museum.

Jiang Qing, wishing to make the Peking Opera "Red Lantern" into a movie, wanted to transfer the best cameramen of the August 1st Movie Studio to shoot the picture. As this was not done promptly according to her wishes, Jiang Qing became angry. One harsh winter night in Peking when Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Hua Guofeng, and Li Desheng were holding a meeting, Jiang Qing burst through the door, firmly demanding that Ye Jianying and the others immediately accompany her to the August 1st Studio. Li Desheng said, "It's very late now, and it's so cold. Cadres of the August 1st Studio live in scattered places and finding them won't be easy. Let's wait until after daybreak." Unappeased, Jiang Qing indignantly rebuked him, saying "I want to go now. We must go now." Ye Jianying, Li Desheng, and the others had no choice but to accompany her to the August 1st Studio. Only after immediately gathering all the leaders and roundly cursing them did Jiang Qing lay her anger to rest.

One time, the August 1st Movie Studio convened an enlarged Party Committee meeting. Li Desheng proposed that since the August 1st Studio was a military organization, the system of the division of responsibility under the centralized leadership of the party committee should be implemented with a Studio Chief and a political commissar, and it should not be called a "Revolutionary Committee." Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Qunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan opposed the idea immediately upon hearing of it, saying, "The Revolutionary Committee is the result of the Cultural Revolution. It is part of the new life. There must be a Revolutionary Committee at the August 1st Studio." This was the second time Li Desheng aroused the anger of Jiang Qing.

The third incident involved the appointment of Hua Nan [5478 2809] as head of the Army newspaper office. According to Zhou Enlai, this appointment only needed the approval of the Central Committee's vice-chairman, so Li Desheng did not report this appointment to Mao Zedong. Thereupon, Jiang Qing

spread the saying, "This office head Hua Nan is a black one. He has not been passed by Chairman Mao." She even cursed Li, saying, "Li Desheng is a big warlord, a big party boss."

#### The Reason for Boarding the Pirate Ship

In late 1973 during the leadership shakeup of the eight Military Regions, Li Desheng was transferred to the post of Commander of the Shenyang Military Region.

After Lin Biao's escape attempt and death, the propaganda section of the General Political Department drew up a "Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius" telephone circular. The "Criticize Lin" rectification was primary, with the criticism of Confucius carried on in conjunction. Jiang Qing thought that this ran counter to the criticism of Confucius. At her instigation, the various units of the General Political Department exposed and criticized Li Desheng with big character posters all over the place. In September of 1974, Wong Hongwen, who was in charge of central work, held a work conference whose participants included Politburo members and leaders of the major military regions; Li became a principal target of criticism. At the conference, Li Desheng criticized himself for the way he had carried out Lin Biao's ideas at the General Political department. Wang Hongwen said, "Chairman Mao has said that some commanders have committed a lot of mistakes, while some have committed only a few. Don't fool yourself--you belong to the first group." Li's two self-criticisms at the conference, plus another self-criticism he made at the plenary session of the Politburo, were not approved. For over 10 nights in a row he slept badly. At last, in the tone set by the gang of four, he acknowledged, "I boarded Lin Biao's pirate ship." Only then was he freed from the ordeal.

At the 2d Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee, Li Desheng volunteered to relinquish his duties as Standing Committee member and vice-chairman of the Politburo, and returned to Shenyang as commander of the military region.

In recollecting the dizzying events of his past, Li Desheng has told people, "During the 10 years of upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, I made some mistakes, too. But I never had wild political ambitions. I tried earnestly to do a good job. So, even though Lin Biao and the gang of four forced some of their ideas on me, I never boarded their pirate ship. This was the basic reason behind their resolution to purge me."

#### Becoming Highest Military Academy Commissar

After the Cultural Revolution, Li Desheng was still a member of the Politburo and Commander of the Shenyang Military Region, still in the ranks of the "leaders of the party and the government." It was not until last year that he resigned from the Politburo and the Central Committee, but then he was newly appointed as a Standing Committee member of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC Central Committee. Recently, Deng Xiaoping personally approved the establishment of the National Defense University



of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Li Desheng was appointed political commissar.

The National Defense University is the highest military institute directly under the leadership of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee. It was created from the amalgamation of the Liberation Army's Military Academy, Political Science Academy, and the Logistics Academy. With its comprehensive, research-oriented, and liberal characteristics, it seeks to train high-level military personnel for the combined arms units who can meet the requirements of national defense modernization and the demands of modern warfare. It has the responsibility for training high-level cadres of the Chinese military and high-level cadres of relevant government agencies. It is a school as well as a scientific research center. It will break through the closed model of education and gradually create conditions for an extensive exchange with units at home and abroad. The National Defense University will establish a National Defense Research Department, a Basic Studies Department, an Advanced Studies Department, a Research Institute, and a teacher training class to train high-level leading cadres of the military, and commanders, staff officers, theoreticians, and teachers who already have either Master's or Doctor's degrees. The National Defense University will also establish a Strategic Studies Institute and a Military Construction Research Institute, which will advise on policies made by the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the three major general departments of the Liberation Army.

It looks as if General Li, whose career has experienced many ups and downs, is still highly regarded by the leadership of the CPC and has been given an important position.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU QIAOMU'S ROLE IN 'MA DING' INCIDENT DISCUSSED

Hong Kong PAI HSING in Chinese No 119, 1 May 86 p 7

[Text] Everything has gone wrong for Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] recently. The incident involving his son is trouble enough for him. Now he finds himself in a fix again over another highly embarrassing matter: the "Ma Ding" incident, which has been the focus of public attention at home and has both the domestic and foreign press talking. Hong Kong's TAKUNG PAO reported the incident without pointing out that Hu Qiaomu has only himself to blame for it. Nor did it mention the attitude toward it of other leaders on the CPC Central Committee.

On 2 November 1985, GONGREN RIBAO ran a paper on economic research in China by a young teacher at Nanjing University, Song Longxiang [1345 7893 4382], under the pseudonym, "Ma Ding." Titled "Ten Major Changes in Contemporary Chinese Economic Research," the paper advocates the "bold adoption of Keynesian economics and other achievements of modern western economics" and champions the freedom of academic research so that economics will become an independent science. The paper also boldly contends that such Marxist classics as "Capital" have lost their relevance because "the arduous historic task China faces today is not "one of criticizing the old capitalist world, but one of constructing socialism." Yet "Capital" offers us no ready-made solutions.

After the paper appeared, Hu Qiaomu pounced on it immediately. He instructed in his comments, "Criticize Ma Ding's article all over the country. What is at issue is not isolated individuals but the trend of social thought. Criticism suggested, to be transmitted through Xinhua News Agency."

Before disaster struck, however, Premier Zhao Ziyang put forward a different point of view. He spoke out against criticism, saying that people with those views should be protected, not attacked.

At a State Economic Commission meeting a little later, Hu Qiaomu argued vigorously in favor of launching a criticism campaign against Ma Ding. In contrast, Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678], who presided over the meeting, praised Ma Ding's paper and commended GONGREN RIBAO for doing a good deed. Then on 8 March, JIEFANGJUN BAO came out in support of Ma Ding in its editorial, "The Basic Theories of Marxism-Leninism May Be Developed." RENMIN RIBAO, too, defied Hu Qiaomu's instruction and said that people should not be

suppressed. On 2 April, Shanghai's WENHUI BAO published an article signed by Deng Weizhi [6772 4885 1807] which cautioned that "we must never randomly slap political labels on people in academic discussions and that the mindless criticism of theoretical liberalization violates the law of the development of scholarship."

On 27 December 1985, ZHONG BAO in the United States published an article titled "Discarding Academic Utilitarianism" which annoyed the press and intellectual circles in Beijing, by criticizing Ma Ding, obliquely suggested that Chinese economists, "swallow Western learning without digesting it."

But it had a very happy reader in Hu Qiaomu who distributed it to cadres for their reference in criticizing Ma Ding. Still his trick of using foreign support did not help him gain the upper hand.

Beijing intellectual circles believe that the early departure of Hu Qiaomu would rid the nation of a scourge. It is his way to routinely mouth Marxist theories while politically hitting out at the group of reformers. His only weapon, which he wields at the drop of a hat, is to fling the charge of bourgeois liberalization, in the process snuffing out all manner of innovation. Everybody abhors a person like Hu Qiaomu who goes against the trend of the times.

12581

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOURNALISTS PERMITTED TO CRITICIZE ECONOMY OPENLY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 8 May 86 p 3

[Article by Christian A. Jensen]

[Text] The press must hold its own economically, and has introduced a critical and more entertaining journalism.

Over the past four or five years a small revolution has taken place in the Chinese media, where the hundred flowers are beginning to bloom in earnest.

First and foremost, the structuring of the news has changed. The interminable, heavy news articles of earlier times are now almost completely gone, replaced by short articles written in clear and simple language. At the same time, newspaper pages positively teem with illustrations in the form of photos and drawings.

There has also been a shift in subject matter, toward more concrete issues. Marxist economic theory no longer takes up as much space as before. Instead, there are articles on how to get rich by using new, advanced agricultural technology; how to solve problems stirred up in the wake of the economic reforms; and on similarly down-to-earth material.

More Amusement

What appears in the Chinese media is a far cry from just "hard news": sports, culture, and social affairs have a prominent place. New, too, are witticisms and other amusing items. Further, each newspaper has its own stock of columns of letters from young people, where Chinese youth can get answers to weighty questions on love, family, and career.

The most striking change, however, is that, where the Chinese media once tended to lapse into painting pretty pictures when describing conditions in modern China, they now have an entirely different, unostentatious, critical attitude toward things.

Consumer goods, in particular, have come into the media's spotlight. Since the economic reforms took effect, in earnest, more money has passed through the hands of the average Chinese than ever before. With that has come a violent change in the consumer goods market, previously considered wildly luxurious: radios, TV's, refrigerators, etc. That being the case, the media

have assumed a role as a kind of consumer protector, and offer regular features criticizing poor-quality merchandise.

#### Factory Suffers Defeat

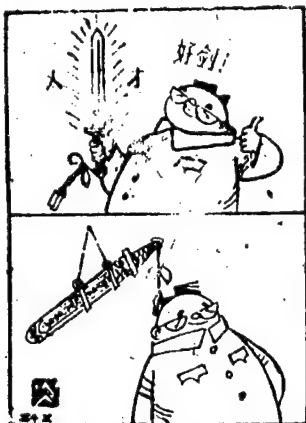
One such example is Beijing TV's extremely controversial program, "Viewers' Voice," on the air for a year. Here ordinary people who feel manufacturers have treated them badly air their complaints.

The program has become unbelievably popular with viewers, but has met with strong opposition from a number of businesses. There are even examples of businesses trying to stop the feature with bribes and, when that did not work, with threats.

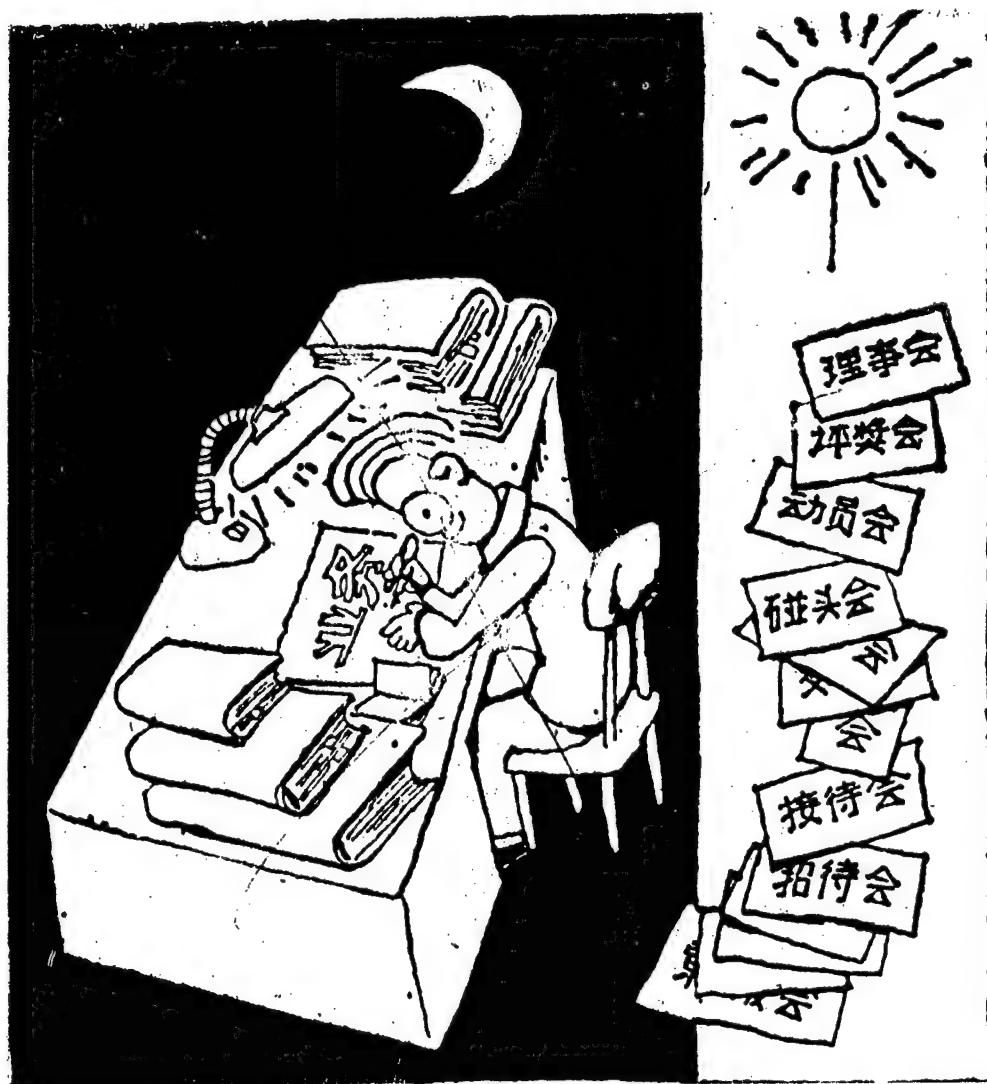
The most famous case to date involved a large refrigerator manufacturer in Beijing. A viewer wrote to "Viewers' Voice" complaining about his newly purchased refrigerator, which did not work properly. The manufacturer tried to intimidate the program's producer into not running the story. Such was the manufacturer's influence that Beijing's mayor, Chen Xitong, had personally to grant permission before the piece could run. Immediately after the broadcast the company saw to it that the refrigerator was repaired, but the damage to its reputation was so ruinous that for a long time it could be charted on the sales curve.



QUALITY--The furniture manufacturer has just time to say: "We live by quality" to the reporter, before the sofa falls apart. From Beijing's afternoon newspaper.



THE SWORD--The factory manager stands with a sword, which symbolizes "competent working force," and is saying: "This is a good sword." Then he puts it in the scabbard and hangs it on the wall. From Beijing's afternoon newspaper.



INTELLECTUAL--The work day of the intellectual is so taken up with all kinds of meetings that he has to do his work at night.

## Taboos Broken

It is evident that the appearance of this kind of media criticism could only have occurred with the approval and sanction of the party. The reins with which the Chinese media are run are so tight that for the party to have played anything but an active role in this development is inconceivable. There is thus broad support from political quarters, at least so long as the media restrict themselves to keeping a watchful eye on producers of consumer goods.

The problem is that the media do more than that. In recent years formerly taboo-laden subjects in the political realm have become the object of critical scrutiny from the media. So the journalists have themselves, in such an august enterprise as The People's Daily, organ of the party's Central Committee, been busy covering corruption scandals in the leadership of Heilongjiang Province.

This being the case, there is a distinct difference between, on the one hand, the journalists and their editor-in-chief, who press for increased opportunities for a critical journalism, and on the other hand the politicians, who for the most part think that the media should poke into areas outside the dangerously explosive political arena.

## Freedom of Speech

There is no doubt that members of the Chinese media and their leaders are engaged in a battle over the limits of free speech. And many in the media are busily working to test the limits of their journalistic freedom. How far will they be able to go in their criticism of social conditions, which used to be taboo? That's the big question for Chinese journalists.

And it is often with their jobs on the line that they try to find the answer. A case in point comes from Hunan Province. It was much discussed in China during the spring of 1985.

The case involved a local radio station and the local newspaper, which in a series of features and articles criticized what was clearly an unwarranted closing of a privately run department store. The politicians who instigated the closing had not, however, anticipated exposure to any such public assessment of their actions. They therefore started a smear campaign against the journalists, making it impossible for them to continue their investigation of the affair.

## Campaign of Fear

People the journalists wanted to interview simply became so nervous and suspicious that they refused to speak.

At the same time, the politicians involved sent out "gorillas" to shadow the journalists, scaring them off, preventing them from further pursuing the matter.



Repeated complaints from the journalists to the province's party committee eventually led to the dispatching of an investigative team which was to unravel the threads. However, the party leaders were hand in glove with the local politicians, and consequently refused to take the journalists' complaints seriously. After the biased investigation concluded, the journalists were reprimanded and suspended from their jobs, while the politicians responsible got off with their reputations unblemished.

Still, the story has a happy ending. The journalists poured out their troubles to members of the party's Central Committee, and got the most influential journalists' union to actively enter into the case. After two years (!) they finally succeeded in getting their due: the original decision on the case was overturned, the department store reopened, the journalists were reinstated in their previous posts, and the villains of the piece, the local politicians, got a public reprimand.

### The Goal Is Profit

This story illustrates two points. First, there is obviously a long way to go before the Chinese media have genuine freedom to engage in criticism of irregularities in the political system. Second, there is the very fact that the story, despite all, ended well, and that the politicians were publicly criticized--pointing to a steadily increasing freedom of the press.

Why has this virtual metamorphosis occurred in the Chinese news establishment? How could it evolve from being merely the party's propaganda organ, into what it is now, to a considerably extent propagating critical, independent views?

The answer is simple: for the first time since a short period in the early 50's, Chinese media organizations must now produce economic profits. Whereas state and party for many years subsidized the press and the electronic media, so that the greatest losses were covered by public funds, a bone-hard need for economic rationalization now dominates.

### Analysis of Readers

It is this economic knife at the throat that has forced the Chinese media to take society's demands and needs more seriously than before. And two major surveys of the population's media usage has made those needs crystal clear. From the surveys it appears that the Chinese want a news organization that sets truth above propaganda values; that deals with issues directly affecting the lives of ordinary people, and that does not wander off in a political, philosophical fog; and that also has some entertainment value.

The media have made arrangements for this. And they have done so to such an extent that the political leadership now thinks the extreme limits of press freedom have been reached. Thus, in spring 1985, Hu Yaobank, general secretary of the party, warned that the media should confine their criticism to limits acceptable to the party.

Here, then, is the dilemma facing the Chinese media: on the one hand political leaders demanding restraint and loyalty; on the other hand the community, demanding a more relevant news setup. The future will show which forces are strongest: respect for the political leadership or respect for media users. As the land lies now, it seems that the political leaders' influence on the presentation of news will decline even more, in recognition of conditions in which, increasingly, the market determines the editorial line.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FENG MU ON WRITERS' SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 5 Mar 86  
pp 11-14

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668]: "The Social Responsibilities of Writers and the Social Effect of Creative Works"]

[Text] Literature is a social activity and probably no one will openly dispute this fact. Since it is a social activity (although one with its own independent laws and creativity), it has to be concerned with social effect and take into consideration whether our literature (mainly literary creation and criticism) has, in practice, produced the necessary good social effect for our society and its members. According to our simple understanding, "social effect" asks the question whether, as a form of spiritual activity, it has produced for our society a useful and beneficial positive result. A socialist writer or artist should self-consciously make the fruits of his labor satisfy people's growing spiritual needs and, as much as possible, play a beneficial and significant role in the construction of the two civilizations. How can anyone dispute this point?

It seems that this is not the problem. What deserves our attention is that at a time when the literary situation is going through a comprehensive judgement and evaluation, when we are faced with burgeoning creations, theoretical activities and the appearance of new writers -- which fully affirms our literary mainstream -- and when we are pointing out the inadequacy and weaknesses appearing in the literary creations and criticism, we hear from everywhere an enthusiastic and concerned plea; our literature should pay attention to social effect and our writers should be more socially responsible. We have to listen carefully to such a plea coming from the people!

Almost simultaneously, our literary front itself has also felt a force from another direction: it is so widespread that our literary enterprise and many of our departments and comrades engaged in serious literary creation, editing and publication are faced with an unprecedented difficulty and challenge. What I am referring to is the disruption and harm brought about by the growth and spread -- as a result of various factors -- of vulgar popular literature and vulgar non-literature in the last 2 years.

As a unique social phenomenon, the reasons for its emergence are complex and multifaceted. They include the mistakes in policy and understanding of some of the literary publication departments regarding the relationship between the principal and the subordinate in social and economic effects. Our literary front must learn from this. I believe that for the literary departments whose job is to develop socialist literature, the publication of vulgar and harmful reading materials for the sole purpose of making money can only be considered to be an insult to our sacred duty. We know that attacks from the force of such vulgar culture can be dealt with effectively only through necessary administrative and policy measures. At the same time, we are happy to see that such phenomenon has received a great deal of attention once it appears and is being dealt with step by step, although we still cannot claim that the cultural dross which has spread nationwide has all been swept away.

At the same time, a fact which deserves our attention and reflection is that when confronted with the vulgar literature or non-literature which is such a strong force attacking and corroding our socialist literary front, our serious literature has not exhibited the proper fighting and resisting spirit. Compared with the wide circulation of many of the bad, vulgar publications, the circulation of many of our better-managed literary periodicals have dropped markedly. Many of our fine literary works do not have the opportunity to be published because of a reduction in purchasing power. In our literary lives, the strange phenomenon of having "difficulties both in buying and selling" has appeared for the first time. Some publishers has worriedly said that such a phenomenon will still be serious in the next 2 years.

Many people have raised this question: the aforementioned phenomenon has shown that the number of readers of many of our literary works and publications, instead of increasing at this time, has declined markedly; except for various social factors unrelated to literature, should we search for some of the reasons for this development in literature itself, that is, in the writers and their works? In other words, should we be looking at ourselves and search for the reason in the ideology of our creations and their artistic quality (including the inclination and trend of some of the works)?

I believe that this is a question deserving our careful consideration and one which is closely related to the enhancing of the social effect of our literature. I am absolutely not equating social effect and box-office value with the number of readers. In fact, I believe that the quality of a literary work is not directly related to the number of readers. Certainly, we hope that there are plenty of fine creations which appeal to both refined and popular tastes, but in any country and era, there will not be many such works.

Yet, I also firmly believe that the most basic issue in enhancing the social effect of our literature is still the constant practical and effective improvement of the ideology and artistic quality of our literary creations.

We have already produced many fine works which, as far as the people and the era are concerned, we should not be ashamed of; but when measured against the needs of the society, we still have a long way to go. I can truly affirm that our literary mainstream is good, but I firmly believe that we can make our literature produce an even better social effect only if a large number of high quality artistic creations appear. At the same time, speaking for ourselves, if we can constantly give the people fine literary works of profound and strong artistic appeal and improve and enhance our literature both in ideological content and artistic creativity just as the rich and changing life of the era is being improved, then, our literature can possess a vitality which will become stronger everyday, and we can constantly strengthen and develop our position so that when we are confronted with the corrosion of any vulgar and decadent culture, we may have a powerful and invincible fighting and competing force. This is an obvious point.

At the same time, we must admit that among some people, there are still differences and controversies as to how the quality of literary works should be judged and evaluated. At present, I still insist that in the search for artistic methods and the selection of topics and content, writers and artists should have ample freedom, and only this can arouse the people's maximum creativity and enthusiasm. In fact, this is a question of continuing the firm and steady implementation of the policy of multi-schools in literary work. It is an important historical experience in the development of socialist literature in our country. At present, the new problem is this: when confronted with the new literary phenomenon which is exploratory in nature (besides the unprecedented multiplicity and novelty, this also includes the emergence of many new and complex artistic concepts), we should, on the one hand, be truly enthusiastic and concerned about all the new literary developments which are beneficial to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, regardless of whether such developments are still imperfect and immature. On the other hand, we should always maintain a cool head so that as far as the many complex literary phenomena are concerned, we can possess a relatively clear and correct understanding and analytical ability so that we can provide clear and forceful support and advocacy to the healthy and good creative activities. The purpose of such support and advocacy should and can only be beneficial to the strengthening and development of socialist literature.

The nature and characteristics of fine literary works of high quality may vary. As Lenin has said, what socialist literature cannot tolerate is "mechanical and forced uniformity and the minority obeying the majority." Unlike material production, literary creations, as a form of high level spiritual production, will be fatally affected by any formalization, standardization, duplication and the imposition of monolithic norms. It goes without saying that the adoption of simple administrative methods while ignoring the writers' freedom to create can never produce successful, not to mention outstanding, works.

However, viewed from the perspective of the basic interests of socialism and the hundreds of millions of people, I believe that those literary works that can be considered to have relatively high ideological and artistic quality should at least possess some essential and important features and character.

I believe that in content and inclination, those fine, popular works should be closely linked to the happy life and thoughts which are loved, treasured, and pursued by the people and which they can be proud of. Not only do we need large quantities of fine creative works, we also fervently hope that in the broadened scope, there will appear outstanding and great works which reflect the heroic historical process of the Chinese people's great realistic lives. Such works which will become part of the higher levels of our country's spiritual civilization and the thoughts, sentiment, and profound artistic appeal shown, by their glorious artistic image cannot but be linked to the progressive society of our people and the progressive enterprise that they are engaged in, as well as to the fundamental interests, fate and flesh and blood of hundreds of millions of people. Of course, to create such works need time, effort and outstanding creative activity, but it also requires the essential conditions actively created by us. But I firmly believe that, in the literary world, there are many people who are knowledgeable and willing to create such works. As many of us, they also think that the people's yearning for such works which can profoundly combine history and reality and express the people's historical longings is far stronger than the desire for the so-called "pure" literary works which stress only the analysis of the inner world of some of the intellectuals. I am concerned that at the same time when a lot of determined writers are diligently creating many fine works, a few writers are diligently creating many fine works, a few writers and critics often express incomprehensible indifference or even ridicule toward many of the existing works which enthusiastically reflect the sharp contradictions and momentous changes in our lives and era. Their apathy toward our tumultuous and complex real lives makes me uneasy and perplexed because some of the writers, in their works, seems to excel in distancing themselves or even turning away from our tumultuous reality. Indeed, there exists such a noncommunicable and insurmountable gap in the ideological content and the ability to express artistically between some of the works which have been praised highly as "masterpieces" and the readers possessing ordinary habits and ways of thinking. Only a few individuals with such writing and artistic propensities bravely admit that they are following the old adages of "art for art's sake" and "the only purpose of creation is art itself." But it is not hard to see that it is not just individuals who deem such literary concepts to be new discoveries and use them as their creations' guiding ideology. In their declarations and practice (let me add that at present, there is the strange phenomenon of people vying to issue declarations before engaging in creative activities), those people holding such views (including many bright young people) often reveal certain non-historical, non-social and unrealistic tendencies as well as a strong exclusiveness. Some people often rashly reject and abandon realism and other traditional but vital

artistic experience. In some of the works which appears to be quite profound, what is worrisome is that we sometimes feel an apathy toward the glorious happenings and the heroic struggles in our real lives. In such works, form is often more important than substance, reflecting that although some of the writers are sincerely engaged in the renewal of artistic methods and techniques, their total lives are rather empty. It is not surprising that these comrades are rather apathetic toward the issue of the social effect of socialist literature.

On this point, some may argue that I have over-simplified literature's social function and effect. I do not believe I am doing that. I only want to emphasize the socialist nature of our literature. As far as this is concerned, it is indeed different from the literature of the past and from that of any western countries. Some may be reluctant to mention the irreversable direction and duty of our literature which is to serve socialism and the people. Such a direction and duty is very specific and cannot be avoided. At the same time, I also believe that to serve socialism is a concept with a very rich and broad content. Narrow utilitarianism cannot coexist easily with true literature. Socialist literature with a high ideological and artistic quality must be the richest and most varied literature in human history; it must absorb the experience of all the advanced literature of this world to enrich itself. Our literature's educational, cognitive, inspirational, aesthetic and critical functions as well as all its functions which help to enrich and improve people's spiritual quality should be incomparably broad and irreplaceable. We should consider all literature which helps to enhance the people's spiritual world and cultural appreciation, or nurture and influence the people's thoughts, morality, temperament, beliefs, character, intelligence, self-cultivation, and interests from various perspectives, levels and aspects to have fulfill the purpose of serving socialism and the people. This is also true of all literature which uses good and profound artistic images to satisfy the increasing and healthy needs of the people's spiritual civilization. We should have our own viewpoints, but we should also have a broad artistic mind. I firmly believe that most of the writers and artists possess a sense of reality and history and are willing to follow this direction to improve the quality of their creations. Because only this can make our literature produce even better social effect. This is proved forcefully by the large number of fine novels, novelettes, short stories, poems, reportage and biographies published recently. Of course, I do not advocate artistic narrow-mindedness; writers and artists should have the right to choose the method of creation that is best for them. But I also believe that those who are indifferent to the people's real lives will eventually confine themselves in a very small living and spiritual world. Under those circumstances, it will be difficult to expect that the fruits of their labor will have much positive social impact on the broad masses of people starving for culture.



Ultimately, the improvement of the ideological and artistic quality of literature cannot be divorced from the writers' genuine and deep concern for the rapidly changing era and the fate of the people and from the practical experience of the broad masses of readers. Success belongs to those who enthusiastically embrace life. History, the times, society, the glorious accomplishments of the motherland and the people, the ideals, beliefs, hopes, worries and joy of the hundreds of millions of people; these are the fertile soil which can truly produce literary creations with high ideological and artistic quality. Only such fertile soil can nurture and produce fine literary works which are ideologically profound, artistically exquisite and full of vitality. Such fine artistic creations will certainly be welcomed by the people and only they can produce the mighty social effect powerful enough to move the society forward.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH 'TIANANMEN INCIDENT' PARTICIPANTS

Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 102, 1 Apr 86 pp 26-29

[Interview with Wang Keping, Wang Zhiping and Bo Yun by reporter Ming Lei [2494 5623] in Paris in February 1986: "Democratic Movement Pioneers Recall the 'Tiananmen Incident'"; first six paragraphs are source supplied introduction]

[Excerpts] On 5 April 1976, the Chinese people seized the opportunity presented by the mourning of Premier Zhou Enlai's death to raise angry shouts of protest at the fascist autocracy of the gang of four. A long pent-up fury ignited the "Tiananmen incident," which shook the world.

The "Tiananmen incident" is now history, having written a revolutionary chapter in China's annals. There is no more moving way to commemorate this significant movement than to listen to the reminiscences and thoughts of those who personally took part in it. In view of the incident's artistic overtones, I interviewed three young Chinese artists who participated in the incident and have now had considerable achievements. Currently settled in France or visiting that nation, they were all overwhelmed with emotion when they recalled their involvement in a mass movement in their native land 10 years ago. I interviewed them at the ruins of the Paris Commune in deference to the revolutionary nature of the incident. It was February, 1986. There was an unbroken spell of wet spring weather and we had to complete the interview indoors.

Similar in age, the three Chinese artists who agreed to be interviewed all belong to the young generation who came of age in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution. They took part in the same political movements--Cultural Revolution, Tiananmen incident and the democratic movement--but each charts his own path in life and in art. While the "Xingxing art exhibition" brought them together, the same exhibition's suppression had kept them apart. As chance would have it, here they are reunited in France. Following is a brief note on the three artists and their activities:

Wang Keping [3769 0344 1627]--Sculptor. A key member of the "Xingxing art exhibition." Also a playwright and actor. Screenwriter for the theatrical company of the Central TV Broadcasting Station in Beijing before settling in France. During the democratic movement in Beijing, he defied the regime for the cause of freedom of artistic creation. After he moved overseas, he

frequently holds exhibitions in France and the United States. On 21 February Wang Keping and several friends concerned with creative freedom in China performed Act 1--"Winter"--of the stage play, "We," with himself as director, as a gesture of support for the right to perform the play in China without interference. The performance was noted in the French press.

Wang Zhiping [3769 1807 1627]--Photographer (no relation of Wang Keping's). A major force behind the "April Photography Club" in Beijing. His photographic works were featured in the "Xingxing art exhibition" and have been noted in the foreign and Western press. In 1976, from the death of Premier Zhou Enlai to the "Tiananmen incident" in April, he ignored the ban by the gang of four and took a wealth of photographs of profound historical value. By capturing the grief and anger the Chinese people felt during that period, they bear artistic witness to the revolutionary movement. Later Wang Zhiping put out a photographic album titled "A Nation in Mourning" consisting of the hundreds of pictures he had taken, plus annotations. He also co-edited "A People Mourns," published by the Beijing People's Press after the "5 April movement." A collection of over 500 valuable pictures, including 60 by Wang Zhiping, "A People Mourns" reflects the Chinese society between January and April 1976. In April 1979, Wang Zhiping and a number of like-minded friends organized "Nature, Society and Man," the first art and photography exhibition, which was warmly received by the public. It was also then that the "April Photography Club" was set up. At a time when the ultra-leftist artistic and literary policy still held sway, the "April Photography Club" clearly introduced a breath of fresh air into Chinese photography. Wang Zhiping is currently visiting France. Before going abroad, he was art editor for the Agricultural Press all along. He is also into artistic photography.

Bo Yun [5631 0061]--Traditional Chinese painter. Member of the "Xingxing art exhibition." Currently art history teacher at an advanced art academy in Beijing. Bo Yun is one of the "Xingxing art exhibition" members with formal art training, but he was trained in Western painting; as a traditional Chinese painter, he is largely self-taught. He took an active part in the Cultural Revolution and belonged to the rebel faction in Beijing and Hunan. He is presently on a study trip overseas where he also attends his exhibitions in such places as England, the United States, France and Italy.

#### Interview

Question: Please tell us how you came to play a part in the "Tiananmen incident" that year. What do you think of it now?

Wang Zhiping: I studied art originally, but then I felt that as a mode of expression, painting is too slow. I wanted a more modern vehicle to convey my thoughts and feelings, so I chose photography. How I longed for a camera day and night then. In late 1975 my dream finally came true.

Between January 1976, when Premier Zhou Enlai passed away, and 5 April the same year, I went to Tiananmen Square to take pictures almost every day. I saw the wreaths the people kept sending to the square after the premier's death and witnessed how a mourning nation became an angry people in 2 to 3 months. I had lived in China so many years, but never had I seen the Chinese

people openly express their innermost feelings so intensely. In these feelings I felt the strength of character of the Chinese. The entire "Tiananmen incident" struck me as an epoch-making cultural phenomenon, a great epic. From January to early April, the Chinese people seemed to have placed all their feelings and abilities in Tiananmen Square. At the time I got more and more agitated. As sadness replaced anger inside me, I could not help acting and feeling like the masses.

Later, my camera-toting became a dangerous act and I was harassed by both the crowds and the public security bureau. But I continued snapping away furiously. I wanted to capture on my film the people's grief and anger so that it would bear real testimony to this historic event. The only time when I did not have the courage to take out my camera was during the chaotic moments after vehicles were overturned. I would be standing in front of the crowd, my camera all set to go in my satchel. But I knew that if I took it out then, I would be beaten to death--if not by the public security personnel, then by the crowds.

In this way I devoted my first camera and the film bought with all my spare money to recording the passing away of Premier Zhou Enlai and the "Tiananmen incident." From January to early April I took a total of 2,000 to 3,000 pictures and developed all of them myself.

Afterward, driven by a sense of duty, I decided to select the more valuable pictures from the lot and have them published in an album, together with annotations. I called the album, which includes over 400 photographs, "A Nation in Mourning" and dedicated it to society and the people as a memento. It became very popular and was seen by Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389] and Wang Zhen [3769 7201]. That gave me a good deal of encouragement. At the time some people called me one of the heroes of "Tiananmen incident." I do not agree with that. I think I have borne witness to a revolutionary movement. That's all.

Wang Keping: I was then working at a factory 60 kilometers from Beijing and had just been accepted by the theatrical company of the Central TV Broadcasting Station. Beginning in early April, I went to Tiananmen Square every day and took quite a few pictures. Those days wreaths were laid at the square daily only to be removed at night, each and everyone of them. Not a trace was left and the square was mopped and washed. In the morning on 5 April, the crowds, including myself, rushed into the Great Hall of the People. That same afternoon, we stormed the headquarters. Those were completely spontaneous moves. There was no central leadership: Whoever had the courage to come forward became the commander. There were some incidents, but they were led by separate individuals, who very likely just disappeared when the action was over. Later another group took over. Actually everybody then was unhappy with both the party and society in general, but nobody dared speak up. So they vented their frustration by seizing on the commemoration of the premier's death. The harder the authorities clamped down on commemorative activities, the stronger the public desire to go ahead with them. Wreaths might be removed, but they kept coming, day after day. Leaders at the units barred their subordinates from going to Tiananmen Square, but people went there secretly anyway. They had no way of telling who was there.

Witnessing the "Tiananmen incident," I felt very hopeful about China: The masses have woken up. When I returned to the factory that night, I right away told my co-workers about the events and said that Deng Xiaoping would be back in power soon and that Jiang Qing's clique was finished. Our unit's branch secretary at the time was still making plans every day to criticize Deng Xiaoping. When he heard what I said, he got nervous and stopped his plans. Two days later, however, Beijing ordered the investigation of people who had taken part in the "Tiananmen incident." I instantly became a target of criticism at the factory. Fortunately I was then processing the paperwork prior to joining the Central TV Broadcasting Station. When the factory's personnel guarantee group came to investigate me, the branch secretary told them my file had been transferred. According to the investigation order, poems and photographs must be handed over and people who had been to Tiananmen Square must be checked. Luckily I was spared all that and was soon transferred to the TV station.

Bo Yun: I was then working at the capital library and was not too happy with my job. In early April, I began visiting the square every day--to mix with the crowds and to see people sending wreaths. Those days young people were extremely dissatisfied with the social system and eagerly looked for a chance to change it. So they were very interested in Deng Xiaoping's possible comeback. As soon as we learned of the "Tiananmen incident," we felt that a change was imminent in the political system. As I saw it, the situation was becoming more and more serious every day. No longer was it a movement cooked up by the young people alone, but was something that would affect people at every level in society. We mourned the passing away of the premier. No doubt about that. But even more important, people were using the occasion to demonstrate their grievances against the gang of four. They had great hope in Deng Xiaoping. At the time people were telling one another this true story: Some guy tied a red thread around a small bottle and hung it from a railing on the square to suggest that "Xiaoping is on the red line."

On 5 April I left home early, went without food all day and did not return home until 7 pm. Once I got home, my family refused to let me go out again--and spared me a disaster. Probably only five or six people wanted to recover their wreaths, but they were followed by the crowds everywhere. Shouted a political opportunist who thought he was leading the leftist ranks, "Zhou Enlai was the biggest capitalist roader." Immediately the crowds surrounded him, dragged him before the monument and forced him to kneel down. He was badly beaten up by the angry mobs and barely escaped with his life. A fire engine was dispatched by the authorities to the site. After the vehicle was encircled by the masses, the driver said, "We have nothing to do with this, nothing..," and fled.

From 1 to 5 April, I was in the midst of the masses. Nobody had anticipated the turn the events took. Every single incident was spontaneous, unrehearsed, and there was no preparation, no organization. It was not until after they were thrown into jail following the incident that we came to know the handful of young people who had taken the lead.

The "Tiananmen incident" was a shot in the arm for China's subsequent political and social progress. How much progress, how fast--that is another story. But because of the incident, the downfall of the gang of four was accelerated. That much should be recognized.

Wang Keping, Wang Zhiping: The gang of four's downfall was the result of a struggle within the leadership. It had very little to do with grassroots movements like the "Tiananmen incident."

Wang Keping: The masses did not demand democracy during the "Tiananmen incident." That demand did not arise until the days of the "wall of democracy." In fact, the "Tiananmen incident" was suppressed within a single evening. Later the crowds even held a mass rally in support of the gang of four and claimed that the "incident" was counterrevolutionary. In China changes in leadership and the political climate are often the outcome of a struggle within the top echelons, beyond the intervention by the people. Moreover, the Chinese people have not made much of an effort to win democracy. Take this "creative freedom" business, for instance. It is being passed back and forth between the people and the leaders. The struggle for democracy resembles the traditional way in which Chinese serve tea: Everybody keeps saying, "You first, you first!"

Question: You are now overseas and have seen quite a bit of Western societies. How do they affect the way you see the Chinese political system?

Wan Zhiping: In my first days abroad, I felt frightened whenever I read magazine articles critical of the Chinese leadership. Although I have become used to that now, they still leave me very disturbed.

Why did China fall behind so many countries in the world? Because of historical, economic, industrial and other reasons, to be sure. But there is one other key factor: In China, the sense of human value, the sense of legality are just too fragile. Although things are getting better now, it must still attach more weight to the value of each individual, to his thoughts, personality and freedom. The fact that I am now in Paris makes me feel this even more poignantly. If it wants to modernize and join the international family of nations, China simply cannot resort to autocracy and oppression. Even the leadership is aware of this point.

Bo Yun: Since Deng Xiaoping came out to assume the reins of power, China's political system has become more and more open. This is a fact for all to see. I think the "Tiananmen incident" provided a populist basis for the smashing of the gang of four later. With Deng Xiaoping now at the helm, things are peaceful. If oppression and autocracy reappear in future, mass movements like the "Tiananmen incident" are bound to recur. The Chinese and Westerners resemble one another in this aspect: Neither tolerates autocratic rule and tyranny.

As I look at the democratic system in Western capitalist nations, I cannot but feel depressed about the Chinese political system. In China democracy has made very slow progress and is often subject to interference. Chinese democracy is a complex historical issue. We cannot point to Western standards

and demand instant change. Besides, there is no political party at the moment which can replace the CPC. The people can only hope that the party will become more and more open. For thousands of years, the concept and tradition of democracy were unknown in China. We can only educate our people step by step so that they will understand true democracy and the rule of law. For instance, once economic policies were liberalized, many people made a fortune and started evading taxes, speculating, profiteering. Give them freedom and democracy and they end up doing this kind of things. This is because there is no sense of legality to safeguard democracy and because the people do not know how to make democracy work.

Wang Keping: In France, I think of the "Tiananmen incident" every 5 April. China is now changing for the better, but ever so slowly. I think that things like the "Tiananmen incident" happen only when the Chinese people are pushed to the wall. It is the Chinese way to say, "Let's be patient! Let's wait. Let it be."

Actually China should keep alive the spirit of 5 April, the spirit of boldly expressing their views. If they behave the way they have traditionally behaved--not speaking out, not making a move--they will never get what they want.

Question: As artists, what do you think of "creative freedom" in China today?

Wang Keping: The slogan "creative freedom" is a joke. You are certainly free to create anything you want in the privacy of your home behind closed doors. Nobody can intervene there. But what you do not have is the freedom of public expression. To hold an exhibition, a Chinese artist must still go through bureaucratic screening and seek permission. Only things that suit the official taste will get clearance. Freedom is strictly circumscribed.

Bo Yun: China is different from the West. Creation and the opportunity to present a work of art to an audience are two separate things. But things are much better now. In the past, you could be found guilty of being a so-called "ideological reactionary" for saying what was on your mind.

Wang Zhiping: Apart from the limits on freedom, the opportunity of a work to be presented to an audience is also economically conditioned. In this China is no different from the West. One example is the current tabloids. The stories may be trash, fabrications, but if they attract readers to buy them and do not lose money, they will be published. On the other hand, a well-written novel and a serious paper will not be published if there is no market for them. This is not a question of freedom. People in the "Xingxing art exhibition" are free to create at home any work they want. The government does not object to their works, but to their presenting them to the public. I once held an exhibition at the French embassy in Beijing, and as many as four ministries and commissions were worried enough to issue documents about my exhibition. Later they sent along so-called experts to analyze my works and found that they were largely unobjectionable. They told me I could do anything I wanted other than holding exhibitions.



Question: The "April 5 movement" essentially used art to express political ideas. What are the social functions of art?

Wang Keping: Poetry seemed to be quite popular during that period but got less so later. It may be that people found poetry with its subtle language more useful for their purpose at a time when the public expression of political dissidence was prohibited. During the period of the democratic wall, far fewer poems appeared. What we had then were direct argumentative articles and big character posters.

Bo Yun: In revolutionary times, art is a political tool. A revolutionary-cum-artist should certainly express his genuine feelings in his works to serve the revolutionary cause. When the revolutionary period is over, however, it is perfectly legitimate for an artist to portray objects that have nothing to do with revolution.

There was another reason why poetry was popular in the "April 5 movement": For years everybody had to learn Mao Zedong's poems, which indirectly popularized poetry. As a result, the people also use the poetic medium. I know of one joke: One of the questions in the language part of the entrance examination at the Central Academy of Art asked the candidate to write down a few poems he has memorized. All the candidates could remember were Mao Zedong's poems. So you can imagine the impact of his poetry. Why was poetry less popular during the period of the democratic wall? Because that period was more concerned with the examination of issues, which, rendered through poetry, would suffer in analytical accuracy and detail. Hence more essays were written then.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ERADICATION OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION'S IDEOLOGICAL DISASTERS URGED

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 5 Mar 86  
pp 5-6

[Article by staff commentator: "Negate the 'Cultural Revolution' Completely; We Must Eradicate Two Ideological Disasters"]

[Text] It has been almost 10 years since the smashing of the "gang of four." With the comprehensive and earnest restoration of order since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, our party has experienced a major historic turning point, moving into a new era of socialist modern construction. The broad masses of party members and the masses work together with high spirits. They are hopeful and confident of final victory. Our country has indeed created a new and revitalized situation and found a way to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Yet we must see clearly that in the process of rapid development and radical changes, there exist also various negative factors which hinder our work's progress. At present, the most prominent ones are: first, the spread of the capitalist individualistic idea of "paying attention only to money" among certain people and the rise of the unhealthy tendency of using one's authority to seek profits among a few cadres. The other factor is that among some people, ideology has become unfocused and discipline has become lax and political liberalism has also emerged. Many reasons account for these problems. One of the most important is that in the new situation of reform, open-door and economic rejuvenation and the complex international and social environment, the decadent capitalist ideology has increasingly corrupted our contingents. At the same time, the negative influence of the "Cultural Revolution's" 10-year turmoil on the party's ideology and style has not been eradicated completely. In particular, the residues of the two ideological disasters of extreme individualism and anarchism have not been totally eradicated. This is another reason which cannot be ignored.

During the "Cultural Revolution," because of the mistakes in our party's guiding ideology and the sabotage of the counter revolutionary gang of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, many basic Marxist tenets were criticized as "revisionism" and many antisocialist elements were upheld as "new things," Feudalism and capitalist and petty bourgeois ideologies became unprecedently active and extreme individualism and anarchism seized the

opportunity to spread, causing a historic catastrophe. At that time, the major manifestation of extreme individualism was: "power above everything else." Encouraged and tempted by power and gain, the dregs of society emerged and opportunists, conspirators and ambitious persons all appeared. They shouted: "with power, you have everything; without power, you lose everything"; "power is tied to one's fortunes," and "if power is not used when you have it, it will be useless after a while." They competed for fame and fortune and created a mess in an originally stable socialist China. At that time, the major manifestation of anarchism was "to rebel is justified," and they engaged in fighting, smashing, pillaging, confiscating and seizing. The "rebel factions" with their different banners and their behind-the-scene instigators clamored that "the general target is to point the spear upward." They rejected the leadership of the communist party, destroyed the governmental machinery of the proletariat, and trampled on the democracy and legal system of socialism, causing the party, political and military disciplines to become lax and the country's political and social lives to fall into a state of confusion. After 10 years, people still remember vividly and painfully such developments.

Now, our party's political, ideological and organization lines have returned to the correct Marxist path and our country has entered the new era of modern construction and comprehensive reform. Yet, has the influence of extreme individualism and anarchism completely disappeared? We cannot consider that to be the case. Many things have shown that the pernicious influence of these two disasters is still substantial and is especially prominent among a few people. At present, the major manifestations of extreme individualism is: "paying attention only to money," resorting to deception, extortion, and blackmail and using one's authority to seek private gains. A few cadres are obsessed with seeking fame and position, and are preoccupied with their personal gains and losses, forgetting completely the ideal of serving the people wholeheartedly. Some go in for ostentation and extravagance, and compete in showing off, vying with each other in purchasing and replacing imported small cars. Using all kinds of excuses, they vie to go abroad, using public funds for entertainment, gifts, and travel, and squander the money away. Some run business to make profit, violating state laws. Contrary to organization principles, they hire their trusted friends and relatives, and seek personal gains for their children, relatives and friends, resorting even to bribery and corruption, speculation and deception and violating the laws. Some, in performing their work, insist on "bargaining according to quality and exchange based on equal value." If there is neither raises nor bonuses, they pretend to be sick and procrastinate in their work. Some, violating state laws, ignore their own work to seek "outside income," requesting long-term sick leaves to engage in buying and reselling for a profit; or, using the excuse of "mobility of talented personnel," they leave without resigning to seek higher wages or run businesses. At present, only a few openly advocate anarchism, but political liberalism, which is tied to petty bourgeois anarchism, has begun to emerge. Some, regardless of the situation, always find fault with the party's line, principles and policies, making frivolous comments and spreading discontent. Some like to listen to gossips, sow discord and spread rumors, even helping to transmit malicious

lies. Some has allowed their discipline to become lax, and they neither follow nor enforce orders; they do whatever they want, carrying out only those party orders that they agree with. Some are in pursuit of the "democracy" and "freedom" of the capitalist class, cherishing the "big democracy" of the "Cultural Revolution," and use the means of the "four big" which has been abolished by the constitution to damage the hard-won stable and unified political situation. All these show that once an erroneous ideology begins to spread, it is difficult to eradicate completely its influence and damages. Although it has been 10 years since the "Cultural Revolution," yet we still have to exert our utmost efforts to eradicate completely the pernicious influence of extreme individualism and anarchism. This is still a very important ideological political task for our party which cannot be ignored.

In order to uphold the four basic principles to protect the party's correct line, implement its policies and guarantee the smooth progress of socialist modern construction, we must continue to carry out in depth the negation of the education of the "Cultural Revolution." Through party rectification and the strengthening of party nature and style and party discipline education, we must make the broad masses of party members, cadres and people really understand that, ideologically and theoretically, extreme individualism and anarchism are thoroughly decadent and have nothing whatsoever in common with the communist ideological system, moral standards, and behavior. They are the ideological basis for the development and continuation for 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution." During the "Cultural Revolution," it ran rampant as a social thought, leaving a legacy of trouble. No matter how their contents and forms have changed, they have always been a corrosive affecting our thought and a force opposing the advance of our enterprise. Through education, we have to make the broad masses of party members, cadres, and people clearly realize that whether it is the individualism which has its objective the pursuit of power or one which has its objective the pursuit of wealth, it belongs, by nature, in the realm of capitalist morality which is characterized by selfishness and benefiting one at the expense of others. Whoever possesses such ideas will, as Engels put it, "become insatiably avaricious and overcome by covetousness," so that "anything in his mind will not be pure." We are communists with high ideals and to serve the people wholeheartedly is our only goal. We cannot let ourselves fall into the mire of individualism and become the prisoner of money worship. Also through education, we have to make party members, cadres and the masses clearly understand that both the anarchism of the petty bourgeoisie and the individualism of the capitalists are contrary to the historical materialism of Marxism and are forces which destroy socialism. After the October Revolution, Lenin had repeatedly severely criticized anarchism and Engels had also ridiculed the freedom of the capitalists as "merely an non-existent dream." After the proletariat has gained power and in the course of socialist modern construction, there must be the leadership of the communist party, a sound system of democratic centralism and highly self-conscious and strict organizational discipline. Only these can guarantee the success of the socialist enterprise. China is working for socialist modernization, not capitalist liberalization. As far as this basic principle is concerned, we must be firm and have a clear-cut stand.

The eradication of the two ideological disasters which ran rampant during the "Cultural Revolution" and which had left a legacy of trouble until now is a long-term process of political and ideological education. Thus, at the same time while we are strengthening the construction of material civilization, we cannot for one moment relax the building of socialist spiritual civilization. As for the capital, we must put the building of spiritual civilization in a prominent position. We firmly believe that under the new situation and conditions of reform, open-door and economic rejuvenation, as long as we firmly strengthen the communist ideal, morality and discipline education of the party members, cadres and the masses, and, with the changes in the situation and tasks, continue to enhance their current affairs policy education, implementing seriously the rectification of party style and the different forms of unhealthy tendencies in society, then, we can certainly eradicate the pernicious influence of extreme individualism and anarchism and gradually overcome the negative effect of the capitalist liberalism of "paying attention only to money." We can then further call forth the high ideals of communism among the broad masses of party members, cadres, and the people, arousing their initiative and enterprising spirit so that the socialist modern construction of the capital and the city-centered comprehensive reform can advance in a healthier and livelier pace.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CAUTION IN CRITICIZING LIBERALISM DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Apr 86 p 3

/Article by Deng Weizhi /6772 0251 1807/: "Caution Is Required in Criticizing Theoretical Liberalism"/

/Text/ To serve socialism and the people and promote the great cause of modernization, adherence to the four basic principles in literary creation and academic research is our common political base. Under this major premise, all activities in literary creation and theoretical research must also follow the principle of "a hundred flowers blooming and a hundred schools of thought contending" and mobilize all positive elements, in order to promote vigorous and lively progress in free discussions and in comparisons and differentiations and achieve a greater development. Only by upholding the socialist orientation and implementing the "dual-hundred" principle will it be possible to forestall and overcome the incorrect tendency of bourgeois liberalism. It is a truth repeatedly demonstrated in historical practice. However, some of our comrades take a rash and arbitrary attitude on this issue. Ignoring the full text and taking words out of context, or discovering unfamiliar terms in other people's articles, they accuse others of liberalism. What is even more serious is that some comrades, without discrimination, actually call the freedoms of creation, publication and learning liberalism. Their imprudence has led to the confusion of proletarian freedom with bourgeois freedom.

A political concept, bourgeois liberalism refers to resisting the party's leadership, negating the socialist system and following the capitalist path. To determine issues of this nature, one must take an extremely cautious attitude and guard against indiscriminately attaching political labels on academic issues. Rashly criticizing theoretical liberalism violates the law of academic development. Precisely like plants which must adjust to the ecological environment, the growth and progress of learning must adapt to the academic environment. Academic freedom is the air and water of learning. It is conducive to the rectification of the practice of seeking common ground and rejecting the different, our traditional mode of thinking. Only with academic freedom will new ideas and theories emerge in an endless stream. Rashly criticizing liberalism will inevitably restrict the development of intellectual productivity and fetter the enthusiasm of intellectual producers.

Members of our theoretical community make a high appraisal of the discussion of the goal of socialist production, but do they recall that it was once abruptly suspended? Why? Today they make a high appraisal of the theory of socialist commodity economy, but do they recall that it was once denounced by certain individuals? Why? Perhaps they still remember that, during the spell of purging spiritual pollution, many viewpoints considered as absolutely valid today were the targets of purge. Again why? Does it not indicate the absence of full academic freedom in many realms? Recently I asked some theoretical workers: "At what stage of your article were you happiest?" Some answered after proofreading, others after galley proof, but very few said after publication. Not only thus, but some indicated that, instead, they felt apprehensive after publication. The situation is unfavorable to academic development. Without question, the theoretical community should prevent liberalism, but there is a greater need for bold exploration. It is the starting point of finding truth. Its result may be positive, negative, or both. Both the positive and the negative are the need of science. Constant criticism will turn boldness into timidity, and timidity into cowardice. In the absence of bold exploration, one will fear to acknowledge truth even when faced with it. What good will it do to the modernization program?

Caution in criticizing theoretical liberalism means placing our attention on theoretical construction, not on criticizing by labeling. The impact of a theoretical contribution far excels a large batch of mediocre articles of criticism. If one must criticize, the criticism must be constructive. Criticism is for the purpose of construction. Only with construction will there be civilization. We must no longer believe in such formulas as "give first place to the word destruction, and construction is implied."

Caution in criticizing theoretical liberalism means a high respect for knowledge and the intellectuals. Rashly labeling the fruits of their labor as liberalism is most discouraging to the intellectuals. The question of right and wrong in art and learning should be resolved by free discussions in the artistic and academic communities, not by oversimplification.

As mentioned above, some comrades criticize the freedoms of creation and learning as liberalism. It is poles apart from the principle of the party Central Committee. The freedoms of literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities are written into the constitution. Upholding the freedoms of creation, learning and publication on the basis of the constitution is an expression of unity with the party Central Committee. How can it be called liberalism? Why do some comrades always yield the banner of freedom to the bourgeoisie while they themselves are afraid to raise it high? Does it not all for pondering? Of course, some comrades favor liberalism, but it is also their academic freedom, which should be respected. The point is that we must have our own theoretical constancy and guard against stopping exploration the moment liberalism is heard, or joining others to trample on academic freedom.

In the violent years of class struggle, we loudly sang the battle songs of freedom and roused the masses. After basically eliminating the hostile classes and providing the conditions for the true achievement of creative and academic freedoms, we should heartily sing the victory song of socialist freedom.

"Never has there been such a country where one can breathe so freely." It is the pride of our socialism.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DETAILS OF BEIJING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' PROTESTS REPORTED

Hong Kong PAI HSING in Chinese No 109, 1 Dec 85 p 38

/Article by Li Min /7812 3046/: "Details of Students' Protest at Beijing University Discussed"/

[Excerpts] There is a reason for the slogan about "staging a comeback." Two months have lapsed since 18 September, a date which has caused concern and uneasiness to the authorities in mainland China. However, the gloomy shadow it cast among the people has not yet dissipated.

In an effort to calm down the grievances among the students, provincial and municipal leaders have made personal appearances, held all sorts of briefings, and carried out ideological work among the students. Each university has been given instructions to serve more palatable meals to the students. Each food supplier has received orders to commit themselves to providing the student cafeterias with inexpensive, yet delicious foods.

"An empty cave invites the wind. Everything has its cause." The authorities have taken precautionary measures with respect to 9 December and have gone out of their ways to show concern for students. All this is by no means prompted by groundless fears or by a sudden impulse. The reason for this is that, after 18 September, students of Beijing University put up a gatepost couplet with a menacing tone, which read: "After 18 September, strengthen our resolve with self-imposed hardships. On 8 December, we shall stage a comeback." It was topped off by a horizontal poster that read: "There is a long time ahead."

Large-character posters accused Japan of hostility to China. On 13 September, there appeared on Beijing University campus several large-character posters. Most of the articles on the posters protested the visit of the Japanese prime minister to Yasuhiro Nakasone and demanded the designation of 18 September as a day of national humiliation. Those large-character posters were low-key and basically followed by the lines of the government's diplomatic pronouncements. Ever since the deletion of the provision about the "four great freedoms" from the new constitution, large-character posters, once advocated by Mao Zedong, have doubtlessly lost their legality, but have not been spoken of as a "crime." The sudden appearance of these posters had the effect of creating ripples in a calm lake and attracting the attention of people both within and outside of the university. Then, from 14 September onward, more and more large-characters



made their appearance. These articles were no longer limited to such topics as Yasuhiro Nakasone and the day of national humiliation. Some of these posters enumerated the anomalies in the Sino-Japanese trade for the past few years. Students of economics had, with the help of computers, figured out with great precision how much money had been conned out of Baoshan Steel in Shanghai and how many color TV sets were indeed pieces of junk, etc. One such poster, whose author used the pseudonym Isoshichi Yamamoto and the language of the Japanese invaders of China, recalled the number of Chinese he had slaughtered in the past and mentioned how much money he had now made by selling all kinds of junk to the Chinese. According to knowledgeable persons, everything mentioned in the poster, with the exception of the author's name, was based on fact and, because of this, the entire poster was highly readable.

In those few days, when more and more large-character posters appeared, public sentiments on the campus of Beijing University grew more and more violent, in order to "put out the fire" before it was too late, the Beijing municipal government, the CPC propaganda department and the Foreign Ministry all dispatched representatives to the university to hold briefings, talk with the students and did ideological work among them. But the flames of fury had by now spread to the People's University, Qinghua University and other well-known institutions of higher learning. Students of these universities had decided to show solidarity with their peers at Beijing University by going to Tiananmen Square on 18 September, laying floral wreaths at the Monument of People's Heroes, and mourning the deaths of Chinese soldiers who had fallen in action during the war of resistance against Japan and the Chinese civilians killed by Japanese troops.

Eighteen September was a day of utmost tension. At dawn, the municipal government began to mobilize its entire public security police force for a tight stakeout along the roads leading from Tiananmen Square to the front gate of Beijing University. Police cars were stationed at every intersection of the city streets, waiting for instructions. The atmosphere was extraordinarily tense. By mere coincidence, the regular session of the party congress was to open on the same day. This gave many people the wrong impression that all this was done for the protection of the congress. But there were quite a few people who were skeptical, since numerous important conferences had taken place before, yet there had never been such an atmosphere. At the same time, university authorities cut off all links of communications between the students and the outside world at dawn. Campus guards would not allow students to leave the campus. As a result, students of Beijing University could only demonstrate on campus grounds. Despite the repeated exhortations of the university president announced by loudspeakers, students did not stop their protests. On the contrary, they demanded permission for them to go to Tiananmen Square. The enraged president ordered the south gate locked. Students, fuming with anger, pounded the lock with smashing blows but failed to open the gate.

This situation lasted until about 3 pm when the university president, realizing that the problem could not be solved by merely locking the gate, ordered it thrown open. Thereupon, about 300 Beijing University students marched out in good order toward the city. As the students did not appear "riotous," the public security police could find no reason to stop them and could only watch them file past.



Rumors about "backstage manipulators" and "countercurrents" were rampant. When the marchers reached Xidan and turned into Changan Street, they were suddenly stopped by several members of the public security police. "We only want to pay homage to our dead heroes," the students said. "We have no other purpose. Let us go if you are really Chinese." The public security policemen were at a loss for words and let the students pass through.

The students marched into Tiananmen Square, formed neat ranks in front of the memorial to the people's heroes, laid floral wreaths in homage to the dead, observed a moment of silence, then started marching around the memorial, singing "On the Songhua Jiang." The sky over the square was filled with the mournful and stirring words of the refrain: "18 September, 18 September..."

The ceremony ended at dusk. The marchers broke up their ranks and dispersed.

So the day of 18 September passed in peace. And people began to think that calmness and tranquility had returned. Little did they expect that, from 19 September on, large-character posters on Beijing University campus would create another upsurge and would go one step deeper in substance. Slogans such as "We demand freedom. We demand democracy." began to appear. Students of Beijing University wrote to other major universities throughout the country with an appeal for support. According to reliable sources, college students in Xian, Chengdu, Wuhan and other localities also demonstrated in the streets in a manner more violent than the demonstration on the campus of Beijing University.

Campus upheavals have now subsided, but the CPC leadership has made an assessment of the campus upheavals and drawn the alarming conclusions that there had been a conspiracy, that the students had been controlled by evil persons, and that there had been "backstage manipulators." The students' action was, they said, not an expression of patriotism; it represented rather "a countercurrent." The public were shocked by such an assessment, since statements about "backstage manipulators," "countercurrents" and the like were too familiar to the ear. The very sounds reminded people of those horrible years in which countless people had suffered horrible persecution on such charges. Now the academic life of the students at Beijing University has returned to normal, but only heaven knows what is in their minds. The scroll bearing the words "There is a long way ahead" seems to be hovering over the heads of people like a specter.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTS ON CONTROVERSIAL BOOK 'THE OTHER HALF OF MAN IS WOMAN'

Wei Junyi's Remarks

Shanghai WENYI BAO in Chinese 28 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Wei Junyi [7279 0689 1355]: "Thoughts on a Bestseller"]

[Text] I am anxious and apprehensive about the publication and unprecedented popularity of the book "The Other Half of Man Is Woman," and I am worried about our literature.

Ordinarily it would have been a joyous occasion to see a magazine article be quickly turned into a book. It would be great if all works could be published this way. But it has not been possible for other works. At a time when serious works of literature (I am not calling them pure literature) are experiencing a crisis, as bookstores refuse to sell them and printing has fallen off drastically, popular literature has cornered the market, yet this book has created a fuvor. Without waiting for rave reviews from the critics, young readers have rushed out to snatch up copies. They were sold out in no time. It can almost compete with the martial arts novels. This is most amazing. Ordinarily it would be a good thing.

But we must look at this closely. Why are so many young people interested in buying this book? It seems the popularity lies in its discussion of "sex," a term many would avoid and only refer to as "that." The fact that many readers buy this book is not an indication of higher aesthetic value. Therefore its popularity only adds to our concern about the crisis in serious literature.

I am not accusing the writer of pandering to the vulgar interests of the public, nor am I equating the book with obscene pornography; however the book does have excessive descriptions of natural relationships, especially in the latter part of the book, it departs from the serious theme of the repression of human sexuality in the labor camps and concentrates on details around the ideological turmoil and family upheaval caused by Zhang Yonglin's virility and impotence. The writing then has no bearing on society as a whole, or at least the relationship has greatly diminished. (Here is where this book differs from the "Lu Hua Shu" ["Mimosa"] which follows the social background closely and is not just a story of one person who suffered starvation.) The ensuing lack of sufficient character development leads to a credibility problem. Zhang Yonglin eventually left Huang Xingjui in

contempt, but the readers will find it difficult to believe his reasons for leaving. One may decide that he is a liar and find Huang Xiangjui rather endearing instead. The readers cannot be blamed for the unhealthy social effects of the book; the work itself should bear the brunt of the responsibility.

As a woman, I cannot tolerate this kind of naturalistic depiction in the book. I think many female readers will share my feelings. This is not only because of the traditional fastidiousness of most Chinese intellectual women, but also because we have always valued our ideals, innocence, individuality, and careers, and do not want to be treated simply as sex objects, or exist only as the opposite sex--that would be most insulting.

Every writer must be responsible for the effects of his or her work on society. Especially in China today, our work is no longer "literature shared among friends" but has been accepted by the general public (for example, "Ling Yu Rou" ["Spirit And Flesh"]). Every serious writer must consider the question of how to replace vulgarity with elegance, to replace superficiality with depth. Sometimes one must simply avoid even causing others to have vulgar thoughts.

These are my comments. I do not want to see the whole literary circle being denounced, as has happened before, because of this one piece (especially since the author has written some good articles in the past.)

Zhang Xinxin's Remarks

Shanghai WENYI BAO in Chinese 28 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Zhang Xinxin [1728 6580 2946]: "My Views on the Depiction of Sexual Psychology in 'The Other Half of Man Is Woman'"]

[Text] When it comes to "sex" we must first simplify the question to avoid adding confusion to chaos.

First, I should leave myself out of the picture. Naturally, it is difficult for a woman to be entirely objective in discussing the psychology of human sexuality. It may even increase the problem.

Second, we should set aside the controversial title of the book. Recently, the terms "man" and "woman" have appeared in the titles of seven or eight novels. If it had been 70 or 80, it might even be statistically significant. Can the reason be found in the writers' ulterior motives or in the readers' subconscious or conscious minds? "Star Wars" movies have been made and remade; in fact, the movie producer is in court over the copyrighted term "Star Wars" used by the U.S. president to describe the Strategic Defense Initiative plan. Obviously, it does not make sense to get bogged down with the title of a book.

The third point may be sticky. We have invented the notions of "tasteless and vulgar depiction of sex" and "serious literature depicting sex." First, let us agree that "The Other Half of Man Is Woman" is a serious piece of literature, and then let us discuss the latter notion. But in fact there

are contradictions in this notion. Is it the actual description of sex in this serious literature, or is it the writer trying to demonstrate his more important purposes behind sex through the depiction of the psychology of human sexuality. Put more directly, it is the depiction of sexual psychology that makes this book serious literature.

My personal view naturally cannot be excluded. I think the description of personal sexual experience in the book is psychologically and physiologically accurate. Especially in the first three-quarters of the book, it depicts a man in his puberty who is shoved into an extremely confined environment and who has natural biological yearnings for the opposite sex. There is also the element that she personifies his ideals; his dream comes true in a tangible form and they are united, although in an unnatural way. He is impotent; they live under the same roof and are literally just partners. The story is then moderated and balanced by hints of sexual jealousy and continuous self-analyses which reinforce the suggestion of sexual jealousy. Then an important segment appears; the structural transition takes place in an episode of "disaster relief" when, after a heroic act, and after sufficient passive and active suggestions--this is the important segment on the realization of male sexuality--suddenly the man regains his virility. His recovery is significant. He is then depicted as a man who is consciously immersed in civilization; he has morals, but his morality is tinted with hypocrisy. But what is the relationship between his sexual consciousness and his personal conduct? This is where I have doubts about the last part of the story.

The writer obviously feels strongly, and is serious and analytical, about this piece of work. But when I read this book, it did not conjure up any hallucinations. This kind of sobriety, upon self-analysis, was not interrupted by the long philosophical arguments which the author was quite inclined to use: in fact the "discussions" in this book are more vivid and mature in comparison to the writer's earlier works. My detachment is perhaps because we do not belong to the same generation... But even those who are part of the same generation and share the same experiences will not share the author's emotions in this work. This book is an attempt, through the depiction of an individual's sexual psychology, to analyze the essence of surviving in an environment which distorts and changes the most basic, but the most important human instincts. This may be an art form, but at the same time, it is a profound piece of analysis. Sometimes stories about life and death, about life's ups and downs, cannot compare to a story about a man who has been twisted around; whether it is a man or a woman is not important, but what is important is to reveal the extent to which a person can be distorted. This is more tragic: people leading lives of living death in an impossible world. From this point of view, the heroine's extra-marital affair is quite natural and human. We can say that in this book, the psychological distortion of basic human sexuality reveals, denounces, and analyzes the atmosphere of a specific era, an atmosphere which is made up of and in turn is determined by society as a whole, as well as by what lies deep inside every individual. The reason I have not been engrossed in or moved by the book is because I find the author's handling of the male character's psychological condition too hesitant, and it is a conscious hesitation. Even before the final reflection, the distortion has already set in.

While people are arguing over this book, two other novels come to my mind. D.H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterly's Lover" is yet to be translated. From synopsis and hearsay, supposedly there is too much sex, and it is too pornographic. Once I came across a pre-1949 edition of the book, but found that the author had not written anything about private sexual experiences or sexual exaggerations, whether perverted or natural. In fact it is just an early work, a more daring expression, on the emancipation of women in this century. There is nothing new either in style or in content. When the ban on this book is finally lifted, many readers will be disappointed by this important piece of work. The other book, "Jing Ping Mei" ("The Golden Plum Blossom"), some parts of which have been deleted and censored and finally some 10,000 copies have recently released. Many lined up at the writer's union for a copy. Others moralistically condemned the book. But among those who bought or condemned the book, how many were just interested in the characters, they had heard so much about?

As I see it, a writer has written a book about personal sexual psychology, with emotion and at the same time soberly, in an attempt to reveal and at the same time conceal something; readers have snatched up copies and responded with enthusiasm or outrage or indifference; critics, including myself, seriously critique the work. This perhaps is a rather interesting artistic phenomenon, and perhaps an important reality.

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EAST REGION

VALUE OF RESEARCH ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE DESCRIBED

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 7 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Bao Zonghao [7637 1350 6275]]

[Text] For a long period, research on epistemology in our philosophical circles has focused only on the source, process, nature, laws, and standards of cognition for deciding truth or falsehood. Research on scientific knowledge has been a neglected issue and has even been refuted as an old philosophy or a subject of modern bourgeois philosophy. This is not a scientific attitude and is harmful to the exploration and deepening of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

The reason why epistemology should pay great attention to the research on scientific knowledge is that ever since ancient times knowledge has always been a subject for philosophical introspection. Since the 17th century, as science emerged and epistemology became the central theme in philosophical research, the study and introspection of scientific knowledge became more and more important in philosophy. Great philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Hume, Kant, and Mill all approached epistemology with an analysis of scientific knowledge. Engels' "dialectics of nature" and Lenin's "materialism and empirico-criticism" developed Marxist epistemology and also refuted attacks from various idealists and metaphysicists by summing up and analyzing the new knowledge in their times. Recently, scientific knowledge has also become an important field for epistemological studies in the Soviet Union, Japan, and the GDR. The development of human consciousness needs knowledge for enrichment, and the process for obtaining new knowledge is itself called cognition (which is realized in different forms, or different levels of knowledge such as abstract vs. concrete, empirical vs. theoretical, and realistic vs. conceptual). These levels of knowledge differ by the way they understand the object, the scope and depth with which they reflect the object, and the nature of the knowledge system. It is the task of epistemology to analyze these different levels of knowledge. The development of epistemology is closely related to how scientific knowledge is mastered. If, as a theory about how the subject (i.e., people's thoughts) understands an object (i.e., the objective world), epistemology developed in philosophical studies on nature, society, and the results of knowledge, then the fast growth of modern scientific knowledge

provides tremendous empirical and theoretical knowledge to epistemological studies, and we cannot talk about the development of Marxist epistemology if we do not conduct epistemological studies of the achievements of this knowledge.

Currently, research on scientific knowledge must answer the following five questions:

1. The concept of scientific knowledge. What is knowledge? Certain foreign Marxist epistemology texts emphasize that knowledge is the reflection of objective reality but neglect the fact that knowledge is an element in the free, creative, and actual activities of people. I believe that knowledge is the total of all human concepts and that these concepts reflect the process by which people from a theoretical viewpoint purposely grasp and reflect objects.

However, knowledge does not mean scientific knowledge (though sometimes it can be used with the same meaning). To grasp the concept of scientific knowledge, we must take two things into consideration, and through practice we must inspect knowledge in two ways. On the one hand, knowledge should be analyzed from an epistemological angle to see if it is true or false, essential or nonessential, realistic or conceptual and to prove if the knowledge is scientific and can reflect the nature, relation, and law of matter. On the other hand, we should evaluate such knowledge by what material and spiritual needs it satisfies. Any scientific knowledge always unites what is scientific and what has value. How should we define scientific knowledge? We should analyze the answer to this through research.

2. The starting point of scientific knowledge. This question includes two levels of meaning. One is the starting point where scientific knowledge forms, in other words, the starting point for scientific research. Another meaning is the starting point where scientific knowledge grows. Are these two starting points the same or different? Some comrades think that the "question" is the starting point for scientific research and the growth of knowledge as well. I believe that scientific research must take completed and accumulated empirical knowledge (which contains the elements for new scientific knowledge and common sense transformed from scientific knowledge (as the premises and the medium and accordingly consciously raise questions about the unknown. The formation and growth of new scientific knowledge are not only a linear process of accumulating knowledge consisting of solutions to many "questions," but more importantly they are a release from the bonds of old knowledge and a replacement of the previous knowledge and theories with the new and scientific ones. Is "question" or "empirical knowledge" or "previous knowledge" (including empirical and theoretical knowledge) the starting point for conducting scientific research and for the growth of scientific knowledge? This merits our further exploration.



3. The structure of scientific knowledge. In the history of epistemology, Bacon, Spinoza, and others studied scientific knowledge by categorization. Engels categorized scientific knowledge into five types by the mode of motion of matter, namely, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, and social science. Modern scientific philosophers in other countries study the structure of scientific knowledge by analyzing the concepts of "theory," "reduction," "cause," and "law" actually used in scientific activities. According to the degree of abstraction of scientific knowledge, some comrades in our country divide the structure of scientific knowledge into three levels: 1) philosophy and mathematics; 2) natural science and social science; and 3) engineering technology. These different views on the structure of scientific knowledge reveal to us that in studying the structure of scientific knowledge, we must first define what are the bases or principles for categorization. Meanwhile, we should discuss further what their ranks and levels are. How can we analyze their dynamics when modern science has complicated the structure of scientific knowledge?

4. Scientific knowledge and truth. Truth is a scientific knowledge system, yet not all scientific knowledge is truth. Because one's social existence influences what nature he reflects in real life, even under modern conditions, some natural knowledge is still cluttered up with misconceptions and colored by myth. What is the difference between the two? Do they differ in the attributes, nature, scope, and depth of objects they reflect or in the ways of their representation? Scientific knowledge moves toward and is transformed into truth. What is the process, path, and mode of such movement? How does not determine the truth of scientific knowledge? Can we derive the pluralism of truth from the "many-sided" scientific knowledge and theories? All these questions require us to study further the dialectical process which scientific knowledge has developed.

5. What is the medium necessary for scientific knowledge to transform into practice? [Kepuning] of the USSR and Yoshitane Iwasaki and Masatoshi Miyahara of Japan think that the concept is the highest form of scientific knowledge and is the medium for transformation into practice. Why is such a "concept" the medium? What characteristics does it have? They do not discuss these questions. A concept is formed by the transfer of matter and energy through the acquisition, transmission, and processing of outside information. The transformation of a concept into practice is the transformation of knowledge information (including information on ideal objects) in a concept about relative objects into information about new objects (i.e., the practical information of ideal objects). Can we therefore consider "information" the "medium" for scientific knowledge to transform into practice? This question waits for our further proof.

Above are my preliminary views on the study of epistemology. They are intended to evoke my theoretical colleagues to study epistemology thoroughly and to develop Marxist epistemology under new historic conditions.

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7 July 1986

## EAST REGION

## SHANGHAI POLICE CRACKDOWN NETS LARGE NUMBER OF THIEVES

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 16 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Hu [1728 3337]: "More than 3,000 Thieves Turn Themselves in Shanghai; Policy of Crackdown Stressed, Division and Disintegration Encouraged:]

[Text] Since March Shanghai City's mammoth crackdown on theft and robbery has struck terror in the hearts of some thieves who have rushed to turn themselves in to organs of public security and public security bodies. Their numbers now exceed 3,000.

In this anti-theft crackdown, the vast ranks of the police paid careful attention to the policy of crackdown. The scope of their activities was large and they conducted repeated propaganda offensives, using not only broadcasting, slide presentations, pictures and theatrical performances, but engaged in solid anti-theft propaganda work at every factory and home as well. The repetition and depth of their activities created a stupendous social environment in which the "masses opposed theft."

While engaging in large-scale propaganda, the police utilized various methods to focus on the education of "suspect masses." On one hand, people who had been treated liberally after surrendering appeared personally to speak in order to appeal to the "suspect masses," while on the other hand, "low pressure" was placed on those suspected of stealing and one-on-one education was provided, breaking down their ideological walls of defense. The Zhanghia Police Substation of the Jingan Police Station held such a meeting on 1 March at which four persons raised their hands indicating their desire to surrender and confess. One hour after the meeting, 18 others came throughout the night to surrender to the police, providing 28 leads and clues to various criminal cases. At a propaganda meeting on the legal system for residents held by the Changchunlu Police Substation of the Hongkou Police Station, accurate education work was done on a criminal who stayed behind after. After an intense ideological struggle, the criminal finally confessed to 17 thefts of goods worth more than 1,100 yuan and handed over 350 yuan and some stolen items on the spot. While conducting individual education, the police encouraged the thieves' friends and knowledgeable persons to assist in the counseling. Using this method, 37 persons were encouraged to turn themselves in.

In order to maximize results, the police went down into industrial and enterprise units where the security situation was complex and mobilized the masses to expose, discuss and investigate. The chief of the northern substation of the Zhabei Police Station led seven policemen into the security problem plagued Weixing Hardware Factory to conduct propaganda and mobilize the masses. In only 2 or 3 days, 7 people turned themselves in.

12221/9190

CSO: 4005/677

EAST REGION

WENHUI BAO PUBLISHES ARTICLE 'DISCUSSION ON MISTAKES'

Authors Express Views

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 30 Jul 85 pp 3-4

[Article by Deng Weizhi [6772 0251 1807] and Zhu Changchao [2612 7022 6389]: "A Discussion on Mistakes"; first three paragraphs are sources supplied introduction]

[Text] Editor's note: Deng Weizhi and Zhu Changchao, in their article, "A Discussion on Mistakes," express their own views on the place and function of mistakes in the cognitive process. This will undoubtedly help us to liberate our thinking and aid our exploration of the issues.

According to Marxist epistemology, cognition cannot possibly be completed at once, but must undergo a gradual developmental process based on practice. Because we are limited by objective historical conditions, the level of social practice, our position in society, subjective conditions, and the complexity of the cognitive process, we are very likely to make mistakes every step of the way. Of course, we should sum up our experiences and try to avoid and eliminate mistakes in order to discover and develop truth from practice.

How do we deal correctly with mistakes, and how do we eliminate and defeat cognitive mistakes in order to allow more and more people to accept the truth and progress? This is an issue which merits further study, and we welcome all readers to respond with their views.

Some people regard mistakes as a plague. People cast sidelong glances at whoever makes mistakes. Some people treat other's mistakes as their vulnerable points whenever they please and render them unable to raise their heads or straighten up. If someone writes an article and receives criticism, then nobody will dare to publish his articles again. Those who make mistakes also act like inferiors and shrink back when matters arise. Are mistakes really so evil, horrible, and unforgivable? Not necessarily. We should also conduct multi-dimensional research and analyze cognitive mistakes from all directions.

Mistakes are the companions of human beings. From the collective point of view, ever since there were people on earth they have made mistakes. From the perspective of the individual, the moment a person leaves the womb mistakes are already being made. As Wen Tianxiang [2429 1131 4382] said before: "In the history of the world, who has not died?" Using his words, we can ask: In the history of mankind, who has not erred? Who has not made mistakes in his life? Throughout the ages, who is absolutely correct? Who has never made a small mistake?

Nobody can know how many mistakes the Chinese sage, Confucius, made. Once when he passed by Thief Spring he and his disciples' throats were parched, but he still would not drink the water because of the improper name. He made the idealist mistake of stressing formality but neglecting reality. The foreign sage Aristotle also made mistakes yet became a famous scholar later.

Scientists should be the most scientific and should not make mistakes, should they? Not necessarily. Francis Bacon, the father of modern science, whose mistakes are well known, made even scientific mistakes. Harvey, a good friend of Bacon's, discovered the circulation of blood, and Bacon questioned and opposed him. Edison was a great inventor, yet he rejected another's correct theory on alternating current. Watt was the inventor of the steam engine, but he hindered the development of the high-pressure steam engine.

The great Marxists also made various mistakes. Liebknecht and Lafargue did; so did Stalin and Mao Zedong. Surely, Marx couldn't have made any mistakes, could he? Yes. He also made mistakes. When Marx first met Engels at the editorial department of RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, he thought that the capitalist's son was a playboy, so he didn't pay much attention and was impolite to Engels. He almost lost the best friend in his life. Engels mistakenly thought that the platypus was not a mammal because it laid eggs and, consequently, had to "ask the platypus' forgiveness."

Human beings always fall into the mudhole of mistakes. One important reason is that our understanding is limited by the times, by class, and by our cognitive ability. The world is boundless, forever changing, and inter-related. It is obviously impossible for people to have a correct understanding of everything in the world. Therefore, mistakes are unavoidable and nothing is surprising. The French philosopher Sartre (whom we criticized 2 years ago) once said that when he went to God's sacred temple to tell his faults, everyone stared at him in anguish. But when he asked: "Will anyone here dare to swear that he has never erred?" No one said a word.

Mistakes have their unique position and contribution in the history of knowledge. Without mistakes, there would be no truth; without failure, there would be no success. Mistakes are people's guide in the search for truth and the scientific explorer's road mark. Einstein strongly objected to the traditional view of the history of science because the traditional

history of science tended to describe the development of science as the process of discovering one truth after another. This did not match with the true history of scientific development. Actually, in the process of discovering each truth, there are many trials, errors, and misfortunes. Those who succeeded were the fortunate ones who absorbed others' trials and errors. Einstein thought that the history of science should also record the contribution of mistakes.

Some "mistakes" are in fact the truth before redress. They can vividly describe how difficult the path to truth is and show people how to uphold and defend it. Copernicus' theory on the planets revolving around the sun, Harvey's theory on the circulation of blood, and Darwin's theory on organic evolution were all considered wrong and were suppressed time and time again. Bruno was burned at the stake at the Flower Market Square in Rome. Servetus presented a theory on the human body and was burned at the stake for 2 hours by Calvin. Galileo announced the theory of the earth's revolution and was given a life sentence by the church until it was redressed 300 years later by the Roman Catholic Church. When truth arrives in the world, it is not always welcomed with flowers and applause. It is more often squelched by the imposition of a prison term or worse, burning the victim at the stake. To uphold such "mistakes" takes courage and willpower. Such "mistakes" are like flint which shines more brilliantly the more it is chipped.

Some mistakes are the twin brother of truth. Mistakes and truth are combined together and inseparable and rely on each other. If anyone tries to clear away the mistakes, he'll unavoidably end up clearing away the truth. The pillar of modern physics, the theory of relativity, was developed from Mach's philosophy. His thoughts included idealistic portions and therefore were criticized by Lenin. Nevertheless, his thoughts also included rationalistic portions. He questioned Newton's classic law of mechanics which shed the first light when Einstein began to establish his relativity theory. Didn't the founding of Marxism assimilate the achievements of British classical economics, the nutrient of French utopian socialism, and the essence of classical German philosophy? Even though British classical economics was a theory of the exploiting class, utopian socialism was a fantasized theory, and classical German philosophy was idealistic, still these erroneous theories were the important sources of Marxist theory. Isn't it strange?

Some mistakes are the opposite of truth, but they also make their contributions. They can inspire people to turn back and search for truth and remind people to restore their thinking to the correct path. Engels once said the best way to learn was to learn from one's own mistakes and painful experiences. When taking lessons from one's mistakes one will subsequently make fewer mistakes and may also achieve a great leap in thinking. Joule once believed in the theory of perpetual motion and became absorbed in the attempt to make a perpetual-motion machine. After many failures, he summed up his lessons, returned to ponder the transformation of heat and work in mechanical movement, and discovered the law of the conservation of energy. Engels called it one of the three greatest discoveries of the 19th century.

One German chemist extracted a substance from marine algae and threw away without inspection what he thought to be some common compound. Later others repeated his experiment and discovered the new element bromine. After he heard this news, he keenly regretted his mistake and wrote this painful lesson on his headboard. Ever since then he worked carefully and contributed much in the field of chemistry. As we can see, if one learns a lesson after making mistakes, those mistakes may become a treasure.

Others' mistakes can also become your wealth and be your starting point to progress. Lenin's brother opposed the tsars but chose the wrong path and adopted the wrong method. He failed in the assassination of the tsar and was hanged. His mistakes made Lenin realize that revolution was the only way to overthrow the tsars. Bolyai spent all his life trying to prove the fifth postulate in geometry. This incorrect path swallowed up his wisdom and produced no results. In his later years, he passed this lesson on to his son, saying: "I hope you won't try to prove the parallel postulate. Even if you spend the time, you can never prove it.... I have buried a lifetime of light and joy.... It will deprive you of your time, health, leisure, and happiness." Not only did he engage in the wrong kind of research, but he also left us the lesson of the mistake. However, the young von Bolyai and Lobachevski assimilated his mistakes, derived the counter-proposition to this postulate, and founded non-Euclidean geometry. The overturned cart ahead is a warning to the carts in back. The success of the younger generation cannot be separated from the enlightenment gained from the elder Bolyai's mistakes.

In short, mistakes have their function and place in the course of cognition. However, people usually treat mistakes with the wrong attitude. Some people look upon mistakes as their enemy, always wanting to eliminate mistakes and be uncontaminated. It is an uncanny world, however, and there is no one who is not soiled by a mistake. Those who don't make mistakes often tend to be mediocrities who don't do much. We cannot eliminate mistakes just as we cannot eliminate truth. "If the water is very clear, there won't be any fish. If one is too scrutable, he won't have any followers." If you close the door to mistakes, you may also lock truth out. When you eliminate mistakes, you will invariably make new mistakes.

Not only can mistakes not be eliminated, but they also sometimes need to be protected. The truth or falsehood of certain things cannot be perceived in a quick glance. Truth is the daughter of time, not the daughter of authority. What is prevalent is not what is necessarily correct, and what is being criticized is not what is necessarily wrong.

Why does China, a country of a billion people, always feel short of talented people? One important reason is that some comrades believe in the commandment that talented people cannot make mistakes, or at most will make only a few small mistakes. Actually, talented people often make errors, and people of extraordinary talent also may make some big errors. Hundreds of

rivers flow into the sea, and it is big because it contains them. If we dare to use those of creative talent who have earlier made mistakes, then our undertakings will definitely be more prosperous and developed.

Our article: "A Discussion on Mistakes," may also contain some mistakes and we welcome your criticism. If the mistakes in our article result in your corrections, then we take great comfort. If we correct our errors after receiving some deserved criticism, then the historical function of his erroneous article in making progress will be assured. If anyone treats our article, "A Discussion on Mistakes," with the wrong attitude, we will also cut their mistakes in half.

#### Readers' Comments

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 12 Aug 85 p 3

[Letters to editor by Sun Jieren, Fon Pu, and Yi Shengyun; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editor's note: On 30 July we published the article, "A Discussion on Mistakes," which generated much interest among readers. Within a week, we have received more than 70 letters from 11 provinces. Many readers feel that the authors presented their opinions in the article and enlightened others. At the same time, readers pointed out that the article is biased since it lacks concrete analysis and indiscriminately stresses the contribution and place of mistakes in the history of cognition. The responses either agree or disagree with the theme of the article, while some supplement it. Each fully expresses a view and creates a lively atmosphere. We now print three of these letters for the reader's reference.

#### We Should Not Elevate the Position and Function of Mistakes

After reading the article, "A Discussion on Mistakes," I felt refreshed and benefitted a great deal from it. At the same time, I felt this article perhaps "speaks from an extreme point of view" and definitely speaks with a one-sided view. Of course, just as there is no perfect person, there is probably no perfect article.

First of all, under the article's supposed proposition it would be necessary to reveal the intension and extension of the concept of mistakes. At the beginning of the article, it said that "some people regard mistakes as a plague. People cast sidelong glances at whoever makes mistakes. Some people treat others' mistakes as their vulnerable points...." The discussion here is about mistakes in general. Later, as the article furnished proof, the discussion was basically limited to "cognitive mistakes." This conceptual inconsistency does not make the article well organized or very convincing. I feel that to "regard mistakes as a plague" is not necessarily bad. Casting sidelong glances at whoever makes mistakes does not necessarily mean that one has ulterior motives. What seems to accord with normal human psychology is to consider mistakes as disgusting, not to consider mistakes likable. The key depends on the nature of mistakes and the attitude of those making

mistakes toward their mistakes. There are no abstract mistakes separate from people, but only concrete mistakes connected with people. To abstract certain mistakes and then mix them with concrete mistakes made in the process of cognition cannot explain the issue clearly. For example, it is hard for people to treat mistakes made by leading cadres in pioneering an undertaking the same as bureaucratic mistakes, and they should not. These two mistakes are of different natures, and it would be a mistake to lump them together.

Second, from the statement, "mistakes are the companions of human beings," the article drew inferences to prove the unique contribution and place of mistakes in the history of cognition. The conclusion seems to be that mistakes are more commendable than correctness. I cannot agree with this view. Mistakes, if we recognize them, are relatively negative when compared with correctness. To raise and praise such a negative thing can only lead to making exceptions or even taking pride in making mistakes. To a great extent, the article concludes that the positive elements of those experiences drawn from mistakes are the contribution of the mistakes themselves, which is incorrect. Mistakes can be the mother of success, or can be the source of failure. They can temper people's indomitable aspirations, or they can make people who have no will power wallow. That failure is the mother of success is not a truism, for some successes are not born of failure. The article said: "Mistakes not only cannot be eliminated, they also sometimes need to be protected.... What is prevalent is not what is necessarily correct, and what is being criticized is not what is necessarily wrong." This view is obscure. The crux of the "mistakes" discussed here which "need to be protected" is "correct." Since they are correct, it is inappropriate to refer to them as mistakes for the argument.

Third, "A Discussion on Mistakes" is aimed at and offers salutary advice to the common misconception that "talented people should not make mistakes." This is undoubtedly a necessary task. However, our national conditions are quite complicated. Another misconception coexisting with the common belief that "talented people should not make mistakes" is to "take exception to mistakes" and to "shirk responsibilities when problems arise." People will shirk their responsibilities to higher authority by blaming inexact instructions, or shirk responsibility to "predecessors" by blaming the former administration for not laying a good foundation, or shirk responsibility to "history" by blaming history for leaving problems that were hard to solve, or shirk responsibility to subordinates by blaming them for not taking orders, or lump together their responsibilities and appear to have received their share of the "bamboo stick for punishment" when none actually is hit. In the end everybody passes through a bland "investigation." If we give these people an excuse that "mistakes are hard to avoid" or "mistakes make contributions," they will receive exactly what they have eagerly sought.

Sun Jieren [1327 3381 0086]



## Let's Make As Few Mistakes As Possible

"A Discussion on Mistakes" is an article with original ideas which enlightened me very much. The blemish on an otherwise perfect object is that while the article gave much credit to the function and place of mistakes in the process of cognition, it lacked further concrete analysis on the nature and consequence of mistakes. This bias could possibly cause confusion and misunderstanding among readers.

Some mistakes are hard to avoid completely in the process of cognition and the exploration of new things, but many mistakes are made with such subjective and avoidable causes as selfishness, ignorance, and prejudice. Mistakes can only bring about difficulties and setbacks in our undertakings. Mistakes are the obstacles and traps we must watch for and remove as we advance forward.

We cannot just emphasize that "talented people often make errors, and people of extraordinary talent may also make some big errors" in order to ignore and be indulgent toward mistakes. If big figures make big mistakes, big tragedies will result, which will be even more distressing. People should always try their best to make the fewest mistakes or no mistakes at all. For instance, in the process of pioneering reform, those who dare to do things sometimes cannot help making a few mistakes. As long as they are public-spirited and can boast real talent in managing, they can continuously correct their mistakes through practice and creatively perfect various reform measures. Nowadays, some people pose as being unafraid of making mistakes while engaging in unhealthy tendencies under the pretense of reform. What positive effects will they have in our undertakings if they do not recognize their mistakes and change course thoroughly?

Mistakes are mistakes after all, and they often bring disaster to society. Were not the lessons of "left adventurism" and the "Great Cultural Revolution" painful enough? As our nation advances on the way to resurgence today, let us not forget to cry out to ourselves and others: Let us make as few mistakes as possible!

Fan Pu [5400 3184]

Comrades Deng Weizhi's [6772 0251 1807] and Zhu Changchao's [2612 7022 6389] article, "A Discussion on Mistakes," discussed how mistakes are unavoidable and how recognizing mistakes can help in the understanding of truth. This will undoubtedly enlighten people in dealing with cognitive mistakes.

However, I would like to remind everybody that placing too much stress on being unafraid to make mistakes and even overlooking the basic difference between the nature of truth and mistakes may create the wrong inclination. In fact, such a wrong inclination is already appearing in our real lives. For example, because certain leading cadres act of their own volition and

have no respect for science, some engineering and scientific research projects have failed. Yet at the summing-up meeting they simply shriek all their responsibilities by stating that "it's impossible for human beings not to make mistakes, isn't it?" Consequently, if we simply emphasize the unavoidability of cognitive and behavioral mistakes and forgive those who make big mistakes and who cause our nation great damage in economic construction, those who already act with their own will without respect to knowledge and science might ignore their social responsibilities even more. If we do not make clear the essential distinction between truth and mistakes, those who think they have the truth in their hands may behave recklessly.

Therefore we should define the boundary between truth and mistakes. We should make people understand that although we acknowledge the possibility for making mistakes in the search of truth, still it is not making mistakes, but seeking, recognizing, and upholding truth which are the ends. We cannot deny the essential distinction between truth and mistakes with the excuse that they are occasionally in close proximity. What standard do we use to distinguish between truth and mistakes? I believe that the discussion about practice is the only standard for testing truth, since the events of 1978 have already supplied us with a measure for accuracy. Only if we make clear the basic difference between truth and mistakes and make clear the objective standard for differentiating truth from mistakes, will people be more respectful to science and more enthusiastic about the search for truth. Only then will the bureaucrats who subjectively act of their own volition and those who use the excuse of being "unafraid to make mistakes" be vigilant.

Yi Shengyun [2496 0581 6663]

13094/9738

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES IN GUANGDONG ATTACKED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO [CHINA LAW REVIEW] in Chinese 14 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Li Weixiong [2621 0251 7160]: "Guangdong Province Conducts Overall Attack on 'Three Unhealthy Tendencies'"]

[Text] The noxious practices that had at one time been rampant throughout Guangdong Province of indiscriminately raising prices, charging fees and issuing fines (referred to as the "three unhealthy tendencies below"), have been basically halted after more than a half year of overall reorganization.

In recent years some localities and departments in Guangdong had, under the influence of the "everything for money" thinking, abused their authority and vied to set up a plethora of fees and fines. In one place more than 55 different types of miscellaneous fees were charged in every middle and primary school. Quite a few grassroots units would charge fees of 2 to 3 yuan each time they issued a certificate or stamped a document for the masses.

The Guangdong Province People's Congress heeded the masses' grievances and at the 3d plenary session of the 6th Provincial People's Congress held last May, a bill was passed after discussion to correct the "three unhealthy tendencies." Last August the provincial CPC committee and government began work to deal with the problem provincewide and local governments at all levels in the province set up offices to clean up the "tendencies." All units throughout Guangdong established agencies to investigate and clear up internal problems relating to the setting of fees and collection of fines. Then the agencies of governments at various levels in charge of cleaning up the "three unhealthy tendencies" organized finances, auditing, commodity prices and taxation. The appropriate departments held joint hearings and reported their findings and opinions to the people's government at the same level for approval. Remarkable results were achieved after more than a year of reorganization. By the first 10 days of this January, the first steps in stopping the indiscriminate claiming of expenses from enterprises, self-employed industrialist and merchants and peasants were taken. More than half of the organs directly subordinate to the province and various prefectures and cities were affected, and decisions were made to reduce or eliminate charges on 96 percent of the relevant items. For

example, appraisals and decisions were made on the scope of the collection of three miscellaneous fees in middle and primary schools levied in addition to tuition, and the 5 yuan fee for marriage registration was reduced to 3 yuan. Regarding indiscriminate fines, organs directly subordinate to the province and the various prefectures, cities and counties eliminated a group of self-imposed irrational fines and dealt with some fine collectors who had violated the law. In addition, price hikes for color televisions, bicycles and the illegal resale of chemical fertilizer and fuel were investigated and dealt with--a total of 117 major cases which resulted in the confiscation of 11.02 million yuan in illegal revenue. Violations of discipline involving arbitrary price increases for soap, salt, kerosene and other items necessary in daily life were disposed of and measures were taken to control commodity prices which played an important role in stabilizing them.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

RECTIFICATION OF PARTY'S WORK STYLE HOLDS KEY TO ORGANIZATION

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mei Songwu [2734 2646 2976]: "The Rectification of the Party's Work Style Should Be Viewed As the Key to the Streamlining of Basic-level Party Organizations"]

[Text] From 25 to 27 February, a meeting of directors of party consolidation offices of various prefectures, municipalities, and counties was held in Chengdu by the party consolidation guiding group of the Sichuan provincial CPC committee to sum up the early stage of basic-level party reorganization and to plan its next stage.

Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311], deputy secretary of the Sichuan provincial CPC committee, addressed the meeting.

The meeting maintained that the streamlining of party organizations at basic levels has been proceeding along a sound line and as of mid-February, the majority of more than 61,300 party organizations in various districts, townships (or zhen), grassroots enterprises, and urban neighborhoods of Sichuan have completed study and are expected to subject themselves to cross-examination. Involved in the streamlining of party organizations were more than 320,000 party members. Of them, more than 95 percent have participated in the study program aimed at streamlining party organizations. Of all counties in Sichuan, 119 have moved the study aimed at streamlining district- and township-level party organizations to areas where county people's governments are located and the remainder have chosen districts or blocks as their study centers. After summing up and exchanging experiences, participating comrades agreed to the view that the strategy for streamlining basic-level party organizations at the early stage is sound and correct and has achieved its intended results.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Hie Ronggui emphasized the following three points outlining the way to bring the next stage of party reorganization to a successful conclusion:

1. The rectification of the party's work style should be viewed as the key to the streamlining of basic-level party organizations and the entire process

of party reorganization should be pervaded with this theme. There should be close coordination between the strengthening of education in the party's fundamental principles and the inspection and rectification of unhealthy tendencies. Party members must conscientiously pay attention to problems that exist in their minds, to a tendency to abuse power, and to their work style. They must oppose political liberalism, the bureaucratic work style, and ideological individualism. Leading cadres must behave themselves well, dare to hit back at challengers, and concentrate on investigating and prosecuting major and important cases.

2. There should be a close coordination between streamlining party organizations and implementing the Central Committee's and State Council's Document No 1 of 1986. We must take advantage of the opportunity for streamlining party organizations to push forward the second phase of rural reform and economic development in Sichuan. Party members, particularly party cadres, who are involved in the streamlining of party organizations should use Document No 1 as the basis for summing up their experiences and for studying and analyzing new situations and new problems which have come to the fore through rural economic reforms. Only in this way can they bring their thinking into line with the contents of Document No 1. While subjecting themselves to cross-examination, all units involved in the streamlining of party organizations must concentrate on accurately assessing major problems that exist in collectives and individuals, correctly point out the shortcomings in the implementation of Document No 1, persist in streamlining and transforming their organizations simultaneously, and make conscientious efforts to resolve problems concerning ideas, organization, work style, discipline, systems, and measures that are incompatible with the spirit of Document No 1.

3. The leadership over the work of streamlining party organizations should continue to be strengthened so that the quality of this work can be effectively guaranteed. Earlier, steps were taken by CPC committees at various levels and offices in charge of the streamlining of party organizations to strengthen effectively their leadership over this work; initiatives were taken by principal leading cadres on municipal, prefectural, and county CPC committees to carry out this work; and more than 13,000 inspectors (or liaison officers and lecturers) were sent to the grassroots units by authorities at various levels in order to provide guidance for this work and to carry out other work. All this will serve to insure the development of this work along a sound line. However, the development of this work in many localities is still not well-balanced. Some localities remain unaware of how important is the rectification of the party's work style, while some party organizations are still far from being able to get a clear understanding of the ideology guiding the streamlining of party organizations. As a result, a mood of impetuosity that has led them to rush against time and fight for speed has prevailed. At present, we must pay special attention to strengthening the leadership over the work of streamlining party organizations on the industry, finance, communications, and trade fronts and in enterprises and other units. In an effective effort to guarantee the quality of this work, principal leading cadres of various prefectures, municipalities, counties, and comrades of their offices in charge of this work must make their presence widely felt

in grassroots units so that investigations and study can be conducted and effective measures can be taken to overcome some weak links in connection with the streamlining of party organizations. Particular attention must be paid to the streamlining of party organizations on the industry, finance, communications, and trade fronts and in enterprises and units. There should be coordination between lower and higher levels and between different departments and regions in this connection. We must concentrate attention on doing a good job along this line. We must also help these units rectify the ideology guiding their professional work and solve the major problems facing them. Only in this way can we guide them to serve the purpose of rural reform and the masses wholeheartedly.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

CPC ORGANIZATIONS BEING STREAMLINED IN GUIZHOU

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 6 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by the secretariat of the CPC consolidation office of the Guizhou provincial CPC committee: "Effective and Successful Efforts Must Be Made To Streamline District- and Township-Level CPC Organizations"]

[Text] On 22 and 23 January, the CPC consolidation office of the Guizhou provincial CPC committee was briefed by the same offices of Tongren Prefecture, Liupanshui Municipality, Tongren County, and the Panxian Special Zone on the current situation in which the CPC organizations are being streamlined. Also under study by responsible comrades of the CPC consolidation office of the provincial CPC committee and comrades who gave briefings was the problem of how to take a step forward in bringing the work of streamlining CPC organizations to a successful conclusion.

Counties (or districts) of Tongren Prefecture and Liupanshui Municipality began to streamline their district- and township-level CPC organizations in an all-round way last November and December. At present, their study of documents has basically come to an end, and ahead of them are cross-examinations and the prospect of thorough transformation. Before the spring festival, some units involved can be expected to complete this phase of work of streamlining CPC organizations. Through a conscientious study of documents and as a result of cross-examination, those party members who are involved in the streamlining of CPC organizations have raised their political consciousness to a new level, which has enabled them to achieve a better understanding of the current excellent situation in the countryside and the correctness of the party's principles and policies for the rural areas. It has also led them to heighten their faith in communism, develop a greater interest than ever in serving the people wholeheartedly, and build up the strength of leading bodies in terms of improved ways of thinking, work style, discipline, and organization. Efforts have also been made by some district- and township-level leading bodies to change their poor management and overcome their weaknesses, and initial steps have been taken to investigate some party members and leading cadres accused of violating laws and discipline, engaging in corruption, and granting loans for personal gains. In the end, some problems of greatest concern to the masses have been solved.

In addition to endorsing fully the aforementioned prefecture, municipality, county, and special zone for their achievements in streamlining district- and township-level CPC organizations and for their correct approaches in this connection, the CPC consolidation office of the provincial CPC committee also pointed out some shortcomings and problems as follows: (1) The misinterpretation by responsible comrades of some prefectural, county, district, and township CPC committees of relationships between streamlining CPC organizations and economic development has led them to foster the idea in favor of "fulfilling the streamlining of CPC organizations as quickly as possible so that people can devote full time to promoting the economic work" along with an atmosphere marked by impetuosity and rashness. (2) Some districts and townships have found themselves unable to describe their major problems accurately or come up with realistic and effective measures to correct their mistakes because of their inability to link study with practice. (3) A situation marked by low standards and a lack of strict demands has developed due to the lack of strong leadership provided by some CPC streamlining units for this work and due to the inadequate guidance, supervision, and surveillance from their next higher CPC committees.

At the end of the briefing, responsible comrades of the CPC consolidation office of the provincial CPC committee emphasized that the key to success in streamlining district- and township-level CPC organizations lies in strengthening their leadership and depends on whether secretaries of county, district, and township CPC committees can pay attention to streamlining their CPC organizations; attention must be focused on building up the strength of district- and township-level leading bodies in terms of improved ways of thinking, organization, and work style; and a well-organized effort must be made to coordinate regular education with the investigation of major and important cases and the rectification of unhealthy tendencies. Only in this way can they take a step forward in bringing about improved work styles and enhance reform and the development of the economy through streamlining CPC organizations.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN CONFERENCE ON STRENGTHENING DISCIPLINE HELD

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Hou Chengliang [0230 2052 5328] and Yin Wanghan [4440 3769 3353]: "Crack Down on Unhealthy Tendencies, Strengthen Education on Party Character, Strongly Tighten Up Discipline; Provincial Commission for the Inspection of Discipline Arranges This Year's Work at 2d Plenary (Expanded Session)"]

[Text] At the 2d Plenum of Yunnan's Province's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline (expanded session), which concluded yesterday (2 April), it was stressed that CPC committees and discipline commissions at all levels must, based on the dispositions made by the CPC Central Committee and the spirit of the 7th Plenum of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, clearly guide ideology and work priorities, study practical, feasible measures, solidly strengthen the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and work hard to correct the party's workstyle in order to ensure the smooth operations of all aspects of the reform and economic construction in the province.

The main purpose of the conference, held under the direct leadership of the provincial CPC committee, was to transmit and study the spirit of the 7th Plenum of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, integrating it with the realities of Yunnan Province to study how to arrange this year's discipline work. The deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, Li Shuji [2621 2885 1015], addressed the conference which was also attended by a delegate from the Central Commission.

Those at the conference had the belief that since the fourth quarter of last year, from the provincial CPC committee to the CPC committees and discipline commissions in most prefectures and units provincewide, the spirit of the National CPC Congress was being resolutely implemented, the strengthening of the construction of a spiritual civilization and the correcting of the party's workstyle had been placed in an important place on the agenda, and that the relevant units were proceeding from the handling of large, major cases and the reorganization of "companies" and "centers" to crack down hard on unhealthy tendencies and serious economic crime. In particular, after receiving instructions from the general offices of the CPC Central Committees and the State Council on resolving several serious current problems in the workstyle of government organs, the CPC committees and discipline commissions of the great majority of

prefectures and units dealt with corruption in leadership organs and various problems relating to leadership groups and leading cadres, beginning with themselves, and achieved remarkable success in clearing up, reorganizing and correcting the party's style of work. However it must be clearly noted how the unhealthy tendencies stubbornly reoccur. We must realize the complexity and difficulty involved in correcting them, and proceed to relentlessly crack down on them and spend a long time correcting the party's workstyle in order to achieve the goal of making a basic turn for the better.

It was proposed that the goals for Yunnan's discipline work this year be: basing ourselves in the guiding ideology of the spirit of the relevant speeches made at the National CPC Congress and by leading comrades of the Central Committee, to seriously implement a crack-down on unhealthy tendencies as enunciated at the 7th Plenum of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, strengthen education on party character, and strictly enforce discipline, integrating our work with the realities of the province and making concerted efforts to deal with the following six problems: 1. Maintaining political discipline in the party, resolutely correcting political liberalism, failure to follow orders, doing as one pleases and other disorganized, undisciplined behavior. 2. Putting an end to the use of position and power to hassle and blackmail the masses, and to encroachments on the interests of the state and masses. Illegal, undisciplined activities involving the use of Yunnan's natural resources and materials to engage in exchange and resale for profit must be seriously investigated and dealt with. We must persist in attacking speculation, fraud, smuggling, bribery and other serious economic crimes. 3. Resolutely correcting the unhealthy tendencies involving the misuse of financial and material resources to build huge construction projects, indiscriminately appropriating farmland and building houses. 4. Strengthening political and ideological work, showing concern for the masses' problems, resolutely correcting unhealthy tendencies and undisciplined, illegal behavior such as the use of force, the indiscriminate meting out of punishments, causing of obstructions, and [character illegible] cliques. 5. Resolutely opposing the participation of party members and cadres in activities involving feudal superstitions. We must put a firm stop to leading party cadres taking advantage of weddings and funerals for personal gain and to give banquets and send gifts, wastefully spending public funds. 6. Resolutely correcting organizing personnel work for personal gain.

It was emphasized that in order to complete this year's tasks for work in the inspection of discipline, we must, under the unified leadership of the CPC committee, mobilize and organize the entire party to tackle the problem of party workstyle. We must constantly continue to improve party workstyle, and level by level, tirelessly and strictly investigate and deal with major, important cases involving the CPC committee system of responsibility. In correcting unhealthy tendencies and overcoming corruption, we must insist on initiating investigations in leadership organs and with leading cadres to really strengthen the construction of leading groups and improve the self-education of leadership cadres. The

various organs for the inspection of discipline at all levels of the party must assist and cooperate with the CPC committees in coordinating and putting to full use the positive role of various departments of all functions in correcting the party's workstyle. The party's discipline inspection cadres must work energetically and constantly raise their ideological consciousness and political level at the same time.

12221/9190

CSO: 4005/677

NORTHWEST REGION

LANZHOU HOSTS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK CONFERENCE

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Ji Xiaoyang [4764 0879 7122]: "Party's Principles Should Be Strictly Observed in Promoting Cadres and Rectifying Their Unhealthy Work Style"]

[Text] From 7 to 14 March, a provincewide conference on organizational work was held in Lanzhou. In addition to summing up the 1985 work in general, participants in the conference conscientiously studied and discussed the Central Committee's "Circular on Promoting and Appointing Cadres in Strict Accordance with the Party's Principles" and the Gansu provincial CPC committee's "Decision" on its implementation. They also took this opportunity to study and plan Gansu Province's organizational work for 1986.

As it was pointed out at the conference, the primary objectives of the organizational work for 1986 are calls to implement conscientiously the Central Committee's "Circular" and the provincial CPC committee's "Decision," promote and appoint cadres strictly according to the party's principles, and resolutely rectify their unhealthy work style. To this end, forces must be organized by various localities to carry out a survey of methods used by various departments and units to promote and appoint cadres, and to make resolute efforts to rectify the unhealthy tendencies to add new agencies, enlarge organizations, upgrade their structural status, and provide additional positions for leading cadres without authorization or a tendency to promote and appoint cadres without taking into consideration the party's principles of appointing people on the merits of their moral quality and political integrity should be upheld, and organizational procedures should be strictly observed in promoting cadres. The principle of letting the party control cadres and the system for the organizational work departments of the CPC committees to exercise overall control over cadres should be upheld as a general measure to tighten their control over cadres.

With regard to the urgent need to improve the quality of leading bodies in "four different ways" and to rectify the party's work style, the conference emphasized that in building up the strength of these leading bodies, the organizational work departments must focus attention on shifting the emphasis of their work from building them organizationally to rectifying their ways of thinking and their work style. Education in the party's spirit, discipline,

principles, policies, legal system, democratic centralism, and basic Marxist theories must be conducted with specific objectives in mind or in a way appropriate to the actual conditions of leading bodies. We must consider those bodies troubled by more problems reflected by the masses as the key targets of scrutiny and make conscientious efforts to solve problems that bother them. We must educate leading bodies that have been proven ineffective in rectifying the unhealthy tendencies. We must make resolute efforts to revamp those bodies which have resisted any corrective measures.

To meet the need to reform and develop the urban and rural economic systems, the conference called for unreserved efforts to step up the building of basic-level party organizations in 1986 under the Central Committee's overall plan for streamlining party organizations. The emphasis of this work should be shifted to the countryside. CPC committees and organizational work departments in various localities must concentrate on successfully revamping township- and village-level leading bodies and equip them with adequate personnel. Successful efforts must be made to help basic-level cadres in the countryside rectify or develop their ways of thinking while careful and active steps must be taken to recruit new party members and strengthen the education of party members in management. The way the basic-level party organizations in cities are built should be investigated and studies, experiences in this connection should be summed up, and guidance for this work should be strengthened.

The conference maintained that 1986 is a crucial year for the successful implementation of policies toward intellectuals and cadres and for seeking solutions for problems left by history. This year we must concentrate our energy and focus our attention on solving problems through the adoption of effective measures. Provincial- and prefectural-level agencies serving intellectuals must keep constant contact with units troubled by numerous problems and take the initiative to investigate major, old, and difficult cases. Experiences gained in this way must be used to promote all other work. In carrying out the policy for cadres, we must throw our weight into investigating cases involving people who have been unfairly, falsely, and wrongly charged so that remedial measures can be taken in this direction. Some old and longstanding cases must also be investigated and dealt with. We must pay attention to reinvestigating and handling some clandestine party members left by history.

Also discussed at the conference were problems of how to step up the training of cadres and improve their qualities as well as how to take a step forward in strengthening the building of organizational work departments. According to the plans, this year our province will expand the scope of testing self-educated students by increasing the number of college-level professional courses open to testing from 8 to 10 and the number of secondary school-level courses open to testing from 3 to 6. This year, nearly 18,000 cadres, the same number as before, are expected to receive a college education and the number of cadres participating in secondary vocational education will rise to nearly 12,000.

Liu Bing [0491 0393], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, concluded the conference with a speech pointing out that the organizational work departments must pay attention to rectifying the party's work style as a matter of prime importance. He said that to shift the focus of our organizational



work to the cultivation of new ways of thinking and a new work style by leading bodies and ranks of cadres is not only essential to the full-scale implementation of the policy of building leading bodies in "four different ways" and of improving their political qualities but also important to the rectification of the party's work style and to the strengthening of its fighting power. The problem concerning the party's work style is in effect a problem stemming from cadres. Since the organizational work departments are considered to be the principal departments responsible for placing cadres under the party's control, whatever they do will have a direct impact on the rectification of the party's work style. He then called on organizational work departments at various levels to give full consideration to this point, to display a determination to reverse the trend in which they have paid more attention to the streamlining of leading bodies and the dismissal and appointment of cadres and little attention to the development of their ways of thinking, and to rectify the party's work style as a matter of prime importance.

9574/13045

CSO: 4005/579

NORTHWEST REGION

CONFERENCE ON PARTY RECTIFICATION IN GANSU HELD

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Yan [1728 3601]: "Provincial CPC Committee's Leadership Group on Party Rectification Calls for Doing a Good, Solid Job of Party Rectification at the Rural Township Level at Forum; Provincial Party Committee Secretary Li Ziqi, and Deputy Secretary Liu Bing Address Forum and Stress Strengthening Party Building"]

[Text] At the Provincial Forum on Party Rectification at the Rural Township Level convened from the 25-29 March by the Provincial CPC Committee's Leadership Group on Party Rectification, experiences were exchanged on township rectification work and specific proposals were made regarding how to further improve this work.

Attending the forum were secretaries in charge of party rectification work of the CPC committees of seven prefectures (cities) and counties including Lanzhou, Dingxi, Zhangye, Yuzhong and Weiyuan and responsible comrades from party rectification offices of all the prefectural, city and autonomous prefectural CPC committees.

The forum was addressed by Li Ziqi [2621 1311 1142], secretary of the provincial CPC committee, who demanded that attention be paid to strengthening rural party building in party rectification work at the rural township level, that grassroots rural party organizations be further improved so that the party can fulfill its fighting fortress role in the countryside and that advanced elements in the countryside be cultivated and absorbed into the party, especially the young and talented. We must strive to conduct education among the vast ranks of rural cadres on the party's line, principles and policies, on basic party knowledge and on party character. We must seek to improve the workstyle of rural party members and cadres, continue to build the two civilizations in the countryside, treat the task of leading the masses from poverty to wealth as an important one and further promote more economic development in Gansu's rural areas. We must seriously investigate and deal with rural party members and cadres who use power for personal gain, break the law and violate discipline, correct the party's style of work and strengthen party character. While rectifying the party, we must also spur on work in all fields in the countryside.

Liu Bing [0491 0393], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee emphasized that: in rectifying the party at the township level, the basic guiding concept that the party must ensure and promote the reform and economic work must be correctly understood and implemented. We must take on rectification and economic work together, strive to resolve problems relating to party workstyle, ensure the smooth operation of rural reform and promote the further development of the rural economy. Liu demanded that each county (city, prefecture), take rural party rectification work as a central task, take full responsibility, genuinely strengthen leadership and come up with good results. While conducting party rectification at the township level, we must seriously do preparation work for party rectification at the village level and take advantage of opportunities to create a good ideological, organizational and leadership base for that work.

Party rectification work at the township level has already begun. In summary, the leadership of prefectural and county CPC committees have taken it seriously, but development has been uneven, and work in party character education and in correcting party workstyle in quite a few townships and towns has been shallow. In some places stressing production has replaced party rectification work. The belief was expressed at the forum that while rectifying the party in the townships, equal stress must be placed on the economy as well as on rectification and an effort must be made to build the two civilizations. Problems relating to principles, policy, and organization must be resolved and the reform promoted to ensure the development of economic work. Each party member must, in line with reality, find discrepancies and begin serious, genuine criticism and self-criticism. In investigating and dealing with violations of discipline and organizational problems, we must strictly abide by party discipline, stress principle instead of our personal feelings and avoid overly mild treatment in organizational cases. In the registration of party members we must strictly adhere to party standards, keeping out those who do not meet them. Of particular importance is the appraisal of people who do not function well as party members, and avoiding lowering standards to make entry too easy. In internal party life, a feasible system must be adhered to. While grasping this opportune moment to rectify the party, CPC committees at the county, township (town) levels must further clarify the separation between the responsibilities of party and government, improve political and ideological work, adhere to democracy in party committee meetings and the party branch "three meetings, one class" system in institutions, enterprises and units, regularize education for party members and normalize party life as rapidly as possible.

In township party rectification, quite a few units are lead by both departments directly under the county's jurisdiction and by the townships and towns. In light of this, participants at the forum called for the party committees of all prefectures and counties to improve rectification work at these units. The supervisory departments directly subordinate to the counties must go down to the grassroots and assist units there to enhance their understanding, accurately find problems, investigate and correct unhealthy tendencies such as using position and power over the provision of credit, water, electricity and grain for personal gain,

correct professional leadership work and better serve the masses in augmenting production and enhancing living standards.

It was unanimously agreed upon at the forum that township party rectification is the key to rural party rectification work. The party committees at the county (city, prefectural) level must take overall responsibility for leadership, and the county party committee secretaries must be personally involved. We must continue to adhere to the two group system, plan and arrange work in party rectification, the economy and other fields. County level party members and leading cadres in the party and government must implement the system of point contacts, divide up work and assign a part to each town, and co-prehensively guide party and economic work. Party committees of each prefecture, autonomous prefecture and city must spend a good deal of time and effort in investigation, research and supervision, and dispatch mobile rural rectification teams to investigate the situation at the grassroots level. Contact personnel sent by the counties to towns and townships must maintain standards of quality and genuinely play a supervisory, liaison and guiding role to the best of their ability.

12221/9190

CSO: 4005/677

NORTHWEST REGION

XINJIANG MOVES TO ERADICATE ILLITERACY

Urumqi XINJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Feb 86 p 2

[Article: "'Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region's Regulations Regarding the Eradication of Illiteracy' Adopted by the 18th Session of the Standing Committee of the 6th Autonomous Region People's Congress on 1 February 1986"]

[Text] Public Notice No 1 of 1986 of the standing committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region people's congress:

"Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region's Regulations Regarding the Eradication of Illiteracy" are hereby made public after their adoption by the 18th session of the standing committee of the 6th autonomous region people's congress--5 May February 1986.

Article 1. These regulations, which are consistent with the requirements for the development of socialist modernization and compatible with the reality of this region, are enacted for the purpose of facilitating the implementation of the provisions pertaining the eradication of illiteracy contained in the constitution of the PRC and the by-law regarding the autonomy of minority regions.

Article 2. Included in the targets of this endeavor to eradicate illiteracy are illiterates ranging in age from 16 to 40 who must be enrolled in the study classes if they are able to receive an education.

Illiterate youngsters or dropouts from primary schools ranging in age from 12 to 16 must receive popular compulsory primary education or education aimed at eradicating illiteracy.

Illiterates older than 41 may feel free to participate in the study program aimed at eradicating illiteracy.

Article 3. The work of eradicating illiteracy is the responsibility of the people's governments at all levels. It must be organized and carried out by county (or municipality or district) or township (or zhen) people's governments and neighborhood administrative offices under the leadership of their next higher level people's governments.

Every agency, civic body, and enterprise is held responsible for eradicating illiteracy in its own unit under the well-organized leadership of the local people's governments.

The people's governments at all levels must move to establish and improve organizations overseeing the eradication of illiteracy and equip them with cadres specializing in this work so as to strengthen its management and supervision.

Article 4. The work of eradicating illiteracy calls for implementing the professional cadre responsibility system as well as the three-level responsibility system with county (or municipality or district), township (or zhen or neighborhood administrative office), and village (or residential committee) as its administrative units and should be accomplished within a specific period of time. Units and individuals devoted to eradicating illiteracy with outstanding successes shall be commended and awarded. Other units and individuals unable to fulfill this task within a designated period of time shall be investigated and shall be given another date in which to fulfill this task. Punitive administrative or economic measures may be taken by local people's governments against those found guilty of dereliction of duty in this connection.

Article 5. Funds earmarked for the purpose of eradicating illiteracy shall be drawn from local education budgets. In preparing their fiscal year budgets, the people's governments at all levels must set aside a specific percentage of their education budgets, based on the real needs of each specific locality for eradicating illiteracy, as a guarantee for continuing this form of education. They can also devote specific amounts of their local contingency funds and rural public savings to carrying out this form of education whenever conditions permit. Funds earmarked for this purpose cannot be made available for any other purpose.

In allocating the funds used in the eradication of illiteracy, the people's governments at all levels must give first consideration to pastoral, remote mountain, and economically backward areas and must insure that their funds for this purpose will exceed the general areas.

Factories, mining enterprises, state farms, and ranches must draw such funds from their education budgets for workers.

Individuals willing to make financial contributions to this form of education should be commended.

Article 6. Pursuant to the relevant government regulations, schools are allowed to hire part-time teachers under the program aimed at eradicating illiteracy whose services shall be compensated at a reasonable rate.

Our society as a whole should pay them due respect and their educational activities should be protected by law.

Article 7. Beginners in this education program aimed at eradicating illiteracy must take an active part in the study according to the arrangements made by the

township (or zhen) people's government and the neighborhood administrative office and must get rid of illiteracy within a designated period of time. Those failing to participate in the study without any reason shall be subject to criticism and shall be helped to mend themselves through education.

Article 8. Education aimed at eradicating illiteracy should proceed from reality, should take various forms, and should be carried out in many ways.

A primary reader compiled by the autonomous region's department of education should be adopted as standard teaching material. Beginners in this education program will be asked to pay nothing to participate in this study within a designated period of time and will be provided with free books. After passing examinations, all beginning participants in the study of their own minority language or other minority languages will be declared successful learners no matter whether they achieve this through collective study or self-education.

Article 9. No one is permitted to interfere with this form of education under any religious pretext.

Article 10. No unit of ownership by all the people is allowed to hire illiterates as cadres or workers. Nor is any organization allowed to recruit apprentices from among the youngsters or children younger than 16 years old need to receive education.

People hired by organizations or individuals against this rule shall be declared null and void by their local people's governments and punishment may be meted out to those directly responsible in a way appropriate to each case.

Article 11. As soon as their learning reaches a level where they can get rid of illiteracy, and as soon as they have passed examinations given by the villages or residential committees, these beginning learners shall be issued certificates with the approval of township (or zhen) people's government or neighborhood administrative office.

After their effort to eradicate illiteracy reaches a level where they can rid their areas of illiteracy, all townships (or zhen or neighborhood administrative offices) and counties (or municipalities or districts) shall be inspected by their next higher level people's governments and shall be issued certificates in recognition of their successes in eradicating illiteracy. Acceptable standards and inspection procedures shall be decided upon and made public by the autonomous region people's government in the form of further notice.

The work of inspecting those counties (or municipalities or districts) with their collective learning rising to a level where they can declare their effort to eradicate illiteracy a success should be carried out along with the work of inspecting popular compulsory primary education.

Article 12. Units whose efforts to eradicate illiteracy have reached a desired level should actively move to develop various forms of adult education and organize former illiterates to study culture and science and continue to do so until the fruits of their learning take root.



Article 13. Our society as a whole should pay attention to and lend support for the work of eradicating illiteracy. In addition to carrying out their own work in this respect, agencies, civic bodies, schools, enterprises, and other units should actively help their localities carry out similar work.

Article 14. The people's governments at all levels in this region should work out their own plans for the implementation of these regulations.

The Xinjiang production and construction corps should also make their own arrangements for carrying out this work according to the autonomous region people's government's regulations and should draw funds for this purpose from its education budgets for workers.

Article 15. These regulations shall go into effect by the time they are proclaimed.

9574/13045

CSO: 4005/579

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

LATE MAY NAVAL EXERCISE REPORTED

OW040125 Tokyo KYODO in English 0023 GMT 4 Jun 86

[Text] Beijing, June 4 KYODO--China conducted a naval drill in the Western Pacific near Iwo Islands in late May, China's first naval exercise ever in the area, western military sources here said Tuesday.

The drill was joined by six warships and several bombers, including a Luda-class destroyer (standard displacement of 3,250 tons) armed with ship-to-ship missiles, the sources said.

The sources regard the drill as an indication that the Chinese Navy is expanding its major functions from coastal guard only to a wider deployment in the high seas as well.

The naval drill followed China's dispatch of warships to Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh on friendly port calls from last November through January this year. These were the first port calls abroad by Chinese warships.

The Chinese warships conducted a small-scale "joint exercise" with the U.S. Pacific Fleet on their way home from the friendly port calls to the three Asian countries.

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CSO: 4005/294

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

TV COMMENTARY ON DUAL-PURPOSE TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

HK010642 Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 30 May 86

[From the "New Hookup" program's announcer-read editorial notes entitled "An Undertaking in Which Much Can Be Accomplished," which focuses on the dual-purpose training of personnel]

[Text] The PLA has achieved great success in the work of dual-purpose training of personnel. This has evoked strong repercussions inside and outside the army. Last year some 900,000 people in the entire army took part in dual-purpose training classes, and some 55,000 people have received passing certificates or obtained their technical grades. According to incomplete statistics, in recent years local governments have recruited some 420,000 specialized technical personnel from among the demobilized soldiers. Practice has proven that the work of dual-purpose training of personnel is an undertaking of great significance in the history of construction in our country and our army. It is an undertaking closely connected with the vital interests of millions upon millions of the masses. It is also an undertaking in which much can be accomplished.

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CSO: 4005/749

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG LEADERS AT COLLEGE FETE--According to NANFANG RIBAO, yesterday morning, over 500 old students of the Anti-Japanese Military Affairs and Political College who fought for several decades for the motherland's liberation gathered in the Guangzhou Military Region hall to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the college. Guangzhou Military Region Commander You Taizhong extended cordial regards to the old comrades on behalf of the PLA commanders and fighters. He called on the cadres and fighters of the military region to inherit the cause developed by the older generation of revolutionaries, carry forward the revolutionary traditions of the college, become fighters with ideals, morality, culture, and discipline in the new era, and boldly clear the way to forge ahead. Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Lin Ruo spoke at the gathering. He extended greetings on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 2 Jun 86] /8309

JIANGXI COMMANDER AT COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY--The Jiangxi Provincial Military District held a forum yesterday afternoon to mark the 50th founding anniversary of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military Affairs and Political College. Present at the forum were Wang Baotian, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and commander of the provincial military district; Wang Guande, political commissar, and Shen Shanwen, deputy commander, of the provincial military district; 17 college alumni who were in the Nanchang area; and some representatives of the headquarters and political and logistic department offices of the military district. Participants in the forum recalled their own experience when studying in the college as well as the accomplishments of the college. They said: The historical accomplishment of the college is more than having trained a number of cadres outstanding in both military and political skills and having both ability and political integrity. More importantly, the spirit of the college has become a valuable spiritual treasure in pursuing the cause of socialism. Wang Guande, political commissar of the provincial military district, addressed the forum. [Text] [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 1 Jun 86] /8309

JINAN COMMANDER OPENS EXHIBIT--The exhibition of photographs taken on the Laoshan battlefield, entitled "The Motherland Is in My Heart," opened in Jinan on 2 June. More than 200 photographs are on display in the exhibition. Li Jiulong, commander of the Jinan Military Region, cut the ribbon at the opening of the exhibition. [Text] [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 2 Jun 86] /8309

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

U.S. RELUCTANT TO SELL ADVANCED ARMS TO PRC

OW031211 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 1 Jun 86

[Text] After hearing a report on Chief of General Staff Yang Dezhi's visit to the United States recently, leading comrades of the three general departments of the PLA are now more doubtful about the possibility of realizing our army's modernization by relying on the United States than before.

During Comrade Yang Dezhi's visit to the United States, American military leaders, especially Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, all talked about so-called friendship with us but at the same time flatly refused to supply us with relatively advanced military technology and weapons. This really means that the United States is continuing its policy of discrimination against the People's Republic of China.

For many years the United States has been selling various kinds of modern weapons and military technology and equipment to scores of countries in the world. However, it has been reluctant to sell them to our country. Although the United States has sold a small quantity of common defensive weapons at high prices to us, it made a big issue of it.

Before and after Comrade Yang Dezhi's visit to the United States, American government officials and members of the U.S. Congress made a lot of absurd statements on the issue of selling weapons to us. From those statements, we can see that there are three purposes in furnishing weapons to China:

1. It is to have China gradually accept the military and political viewpoint of the West and lean closer to the so-called Free World.
2. It is to make China estrange itself from the developing and socialist countries and drag China into the anti-Soviet front at an appropriate time.
3. It is to soften China's attitude on the Taiwan issue so as to permanently control Taiwan.

There are also three conditions in furnishing weapons to China by the United States:

1. China must not attack U.S. diplomatic and military activities in the world in protecting U.S. national interests.
2. According to the relations between the United States and China at the present stage, the United States can provide us only with common defensive weapons to oppose the threat from the north.
3. The supply of weapons and military technology to mainland China must be made under the condition that the government of Taiwan and the freedom of the people in Taiwan will not be threatened by Communist China.

The above-mentioned three purposes and three conditions once again show that U.S. imperialism has not given up its hostile stand toward the People's Republic of China. Its promise to furnish some relatively outmoded weapons and military technology is for the purpose of realizing selfish goals the United States has not been able to accomplish in the past by relying on force and prolonged economic blockade.

All these facts prove that U.S. imperialism can never become the genuine friend of developing socialist China. It will never sincerely provide us with necessary aid. Relying on the United States to realize our modernization is in fact a dangerous illusion. It will be beneficial to the state and the army if those people who harbor this illusion can overcome their political blindness at an early date.

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CSO: 4005/750

END